

# THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—THE TRACT MOVEMENT.

1. *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society.* London. Pp. 704.
2. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the American Baptist Publication Society.* Philadelphia, 1854.
3. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Tract Society.* New-York, 1854.
4. *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday-School Union, and Church Book Society.* New-York, 1854.
5. *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church.* Philadelphia. 1854.
6. *Second Annual Report of the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* New-York, 1855.
7. *First Annual Report of the Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church.* New-York, 1855.

THE Tract enterprises of the Christian Church are worthy to be classed among the greatest undertakings of the age. The theme involves so much that to do it justice in one short article is impossible. This paper, therefore, is merely designed to draw an outline of the subject, and throw in a tint here and there, leaving the reader to complete the picture for himself.

We do not dispute the fact that the command to "preach the Gospel" means, primarily, that the messengers of Christ, who are called of God as was Aaron, are to proclaim their message with the voice. They are styled heralds, and there is propriety as well as beauty in the epithet. The student well remembers Homer's living epistles, who repeat the classic words of their various masters without the omission of a letter, or the slightest violation of rhythm. In proclaiming the good tidings of great joy, God's chief instrumentality is the voice of the living teacher, into whose mouth he puts words, commanding him to speak in his name. The speaker, standing up before his audience, face to face, eye to eye with them, will attract and retain their attention from the first to the last word of an

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address, which, if printed, would not be read through with the same interest and attention by one in twenty of those auditors. The living teacher is, also in general, more impressive, as well as attractive. People love to feel emotions, and are prone to attribute truth, wisdom and all good qualities to those who are able to excite them in an agreeable manner. To most hearers, learned and unlearned, the speech which conveys the truth, and, while it keeps up the mental action aright, spices it with pathos or humour—a sermon which causes the heart to throb tumultuously, and the eye to suffuse—are far preferable to dry, passionless disquisitions, like a winter's night, clear and cold. But emotion is contagious. To weep with those who weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice, is graven upon our nature, as well as written in God's book. And the living teacher, whose heart glows with zeal for the cause of his Master, and whose eye, and voice, and attitude, and gesture all speak to his auditors, and impress, and thrill, and move them, holds the principal place in proclaiming the truth and saving the lost. No books, no tracts, no steam-press, striking off a volume at every swing of the pendulum, can supersede him. He must go. He must stand before those to whom he is sent, and there, while their lost condition rouses his Christian sympathies, and while his tenderness and zeal attract and impress them, he must preach—announce with a brother's voice the riches of Christ, and at the same time do what no volume or tract can ever do, show an example of a living, breathing Christian, redeemed from sin, and full of love for God and for souls.

No Church can prosper without the living teacher. The people called Quakers laid aside the ministry, as a class of men set apart to preach the Gospel and superintend the affairs of the Church, and yet the society has never prospered, never won upon other sects, nor made aggressions upon the world, except through the instrumentality of men who gave themselves to the work of the ministry, and who were earnest and abundant in labours. While their great leaders lived and constituted, in fact, what they denounced in name, a regular ministry, the society grew rapidly; but when these able preachers, who had roused the community from its apathy by their faithful "testimonies" and strong appeals, were gathered to their fathers, the triumphs of Quakerism were at an end. Two or three times the denomination has revived under the influence of preaching, but when these labours again ceased, the society ceased to grow, and in most cases, began to wane.

The founders of Christian communions have been generally, perhaps we may say invariably, great preachers. John Huss, Martin Luther, the Wesleys, and George Whitefield, were giants



in their day; while the Hicksites, the Campbellites, and the Puseyite movement, and various other subdivisions of the professed followers of Christ, may also be cited in proof of our position. Even the false religions of the earth owe their progress and power to the labours of the living advocate. The Mormons, for instance, show what can be done by indefatigable preaching, for even a very bad cause.

But the power of the modern press is also immense. It exerts an untold influence upon the welfare of the race, and is, at the same time, one of the best and one of the most dangerous elements of modern progress. Conceding to the preacher the place of the tongue, the Church wields in the steam-press the right hand of her power. As we propose to examine the subject at some length, let us begin with a glance at the literal machinery. Down under ground, in a hot and smoky atmosphere, a begrimed personage in a soiled paper cap opens the ponderous doors of a furnace, and we gaze into a cavern of fire, raging within iron halls. Around and above are wheels and cylinders and arms of steel, all moving with resistless energy and heavy clangours. We ascend to another story, and there we behold a number of complicated machines, devouring monsters, gorging themselves with whole loads of paper aliment. The keeper of each lays before it, every instant, a huge, spotless sheet. Instantly a half a dozen pairs of iron thumbs and fingers shut upon the edge and draw it into the mysterious vortex of wheels. For a moment it is gone from sight, and then emerges again on the other side, where an iron hand receives it in its skeleton palm, and with a whirl claps it heavily upon a pile of its predecessors. Lo, the whole Gospel of grace is printed upon its surfaces! Thus the work goes on. The sweating toiler below fills up the red cavern under the boiler, and the hot spirit pent up within, like an infuriate criminal on the treadmill, chafes at his bonds and tears at the machinery with fiery energy. The tireless wheels revolve, and a score of iron hands swing to and fro, each every moment laying down, as an offering upon the altar of God, a volume which the slow pen of the scribe of other days would have required months to copy. The heathen ask for Bibles and the iron hand piles them up. A Christian community requires tracts, religious newspapers and Sabbath-school books, and the iron fingers hold them forth. The fires burn, the steam labours, the wheels revolve, and light streams through the earth.

And in truth, the printed page has some advantages which the preacher lacks. The very force of appeal connected with personal advocacy sometimes renders it exasperating to irritable natures.

When man reproves his neighbour, no matter how cautiously and kindly, there is an assumed superiority implied which the combative heart of the transgressor is apt to construe as Pharisaic pride, "Stand by, I am holier than thou." The printed page, on the other hand, is passive and passionless, and its admonitions are more like the deductions of one's own reason, or the calm dictates of conscience, against which the anger of the sinner is less likely to rise than against a reprover clad in flesh and blood, and saying, with lifted, upbraiding finger, "Thou art the man." Nor can the force of the page's appeal be broken by controversy, cunningly started up by way of diverting the conversation from personal matters. The types are never penned in a corner and silenced by sophistry; they tender no apology for what they say; but asserting without wavering or abatement, they compel the reader to meet the naked question. If the recipient of the tract burn it in his foolish wrath, not a letter deserts its post, but so long as the fabric holds together, it adheres to its original declarations, and the martyr, like those of old, perishes in the flames, firm and undaunted to the very last.

The tract or religious book, too, is always at hand, and thus can have a hearing in the *mollia tempora fandi*, the times when the whole man is soothed and softened, and the mind is reflective and the heart impressible. The page may be read again and again, while the eloquence of the living teacher is often lost with the breath which gave it utterance. The volume may remain in prison day and night among criminals, without pain to itself, or offence to others; it can maintain its position in the hands of vice, holding up its torch amid the thick darkness. It can go where the living teacher cannot follow, remain where he cannot stay, work when he is weary, and live long and toil hard when he is worn out and gone to his final rest.

The living teacher, then, is God's chosen messenger to guilty men, and yet the mute sermons of the religious press have some peculiar powers and advantages. The duty, therefore, of an enlightened Christian Church is to employ both agencies to the utmost limit of opportunity. Let the teacher go forth everywhere, and tell the story of the cross; let him lift up his voice in the lofty temples of the city, and in the humbler chapel of the hamlet, or beside the highways and the hedges, beneath the open sky. But while his words of invitation ring far and wide, let our friend in the paper cap open the doors of the iron cavern, and feed the hot spirit that pushes and tugs within; let books and tracts fly like the leaves of the forest when autumn winds are blowing; till, as in the quaint fancy of John Bunyan, both Eye-gate and Ear-gate have been

assaulted by the truth, and every citizen of Man-soul has bowed to the mild sway of the Prince of Peace.

The Christian Church is waking to her duty. Since the days of the apostles, the world never saw greater activity and energy in spreading the Gospel, more men employed, more money contributed, or greater success crowning effort; and of all the labours of the Church, none has sprung up more rapidly from small beginnings to a magnitude partaking of the sublime, than the religious publication enterprise. In fact, enlightened minds in all ages have felt that in value and efficacy books are next to the living teacher. The copy of the law, laid up in the ark, was regarded by the Israelites with a veneration approaching idolatry; and in after ages the Jews looked upon their sacred manuscripts as the choicest treasures of their synagogues. Solomon sought to find out and put on record acceptable words, even words of truth. Paul possessed manuscripts which he highly valued, and in reminding Timothy how he may be "a good minister of Jesus Christ," he urges him to "give attendance to reading." Wickliffe penned a hundred or more of manuscript volumes against the errors of Rome, and sent them forth on their mission of light; and one or two of these, borrowed of a Bohemian noble, who had been a student at Oxford, turned John Huss to the truth, and kindled another morning star of the Reformation. Luther arose soon after the invention of printing, and his strong practical mind was not slow to seize upon the press as a mighty helper in his vast work. So greatly were the adherents of Rome annoyed by these sharp arrows, that one of them cries out in anguish and dismay:—"The Gospellers of these days do fill the realm with so many of their noisome little books, that they be like to the swarms of locusts which did infest the land of Egypt."

Though here and there appear traces of combined effort for the publication of various books promotive of piety, nothing like a permanent organization is seen till 1701, when the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," was founded in London. The means proposed by this society were the establishment of schools to teach all to read, and the distribution of Bibles, tracts and good books. Some other local associations, composed, like this, wholly of members of the Established Church, were formed, and doubtless accomplished good. In the year 1750, however, a society was formed in London, on a more catholic plan, for the "Promotion of Religious Knowledge among the Poor." In 1756 societies of the same character were established in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Toward the close of the century, Miss Hannah More began her labours in this new field, by writing, with the aid of her sisters, a series of "Cheap

Repository Tracts." Those who have seen the stories of "Giles the Poacher," and "Widow Brown's Apple Tree," will wonder how the elegant scholar, the daily associate of Johnson and Garrick, could so bring her style of thought and diction down to the level of a rank of intellect of which, among free adults, we in this age and land have little idea. Among her private papers was found this thanksgiving:—"Bless the Lord, O my soul, that I have been spared to accomplish this work. Do thou, O Lord, bless and prosper it to the good of many. I have devoted three years to it. Two millions of these tracts were disposed of during the first year."

Mrs. Rebecca Wilkinson, of Clapham, in Surrey, engaging in the same labour of love, was instrumental in distributing, either gratuitously or at reduced prices, nearly half a million of tracts and prayer-books. The Rev. John Campbell, in 1789, seems to have originated, though on a small scale, an organization more like a modern tract society than anything which had gone before it. Thus by degrees the minds of the pious were turned to the important duty of preaching the Gospel by means of the press; and various plans for bringing every heart and mind in contact with the word, were gradually assuming shape.

The Rev. George Burder, of Coventry, has the honour of having originated the Religious Tract Society. He began by publishing at his own charge tracts for gratuitous distribution or for sale at very low rates. After a short time, a personal friend of his, the Rev. Samuel Greatheed, united in his plans and responsibilities. The failure in business of their publishing agent, a London bookseller, caused them to wish for something on a stronger, more permanent basis, for the prosecution of their plans. At length, on the 8th of May, 1799, at a missionary meeting held at Surrey Chapel, of which the celebrated Rowland Hill was then the pastor, Mr. Burder submitted his plans to the ministers present. The enterprise was hailed with so much enthusiasm and hearty zeal, that in two days from that time a constitution had been adopted, a board of officers elected, and the "Religious Tract Society" was complete in all its arrangements. A fact not devoid of interest is, that the board of officers first elected, twelve in number, all lived to meet again at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the society. The total income the first year was about \$2,400, and the issues were about two hundred thousand tracts. In the year 1849, the income reached \$240,000, and the publications were eighteen millions in number. The receipts of the first fifty years were five millions of dollars; and five hundred millions of publications, in one hundred and ten languages, were distributed. Moreover, principally through the agency of the leading spirits of

this organization, the British and Foreign Bible Society was established in 1804, which has scattered among the nations thirty millions of Bibles and Testaments, in one hundred and sixty-two languages.

While Christians in England were thus at work, the American Churches were not inactive. In 1825, the American Tract Society was founded, an organization which at half the age, far exceeds the English predecessor in the magnitude and completeness of its arrangements, and in the energy with which its affairs are managed. From the London society we have nothing later than the Jubilee Memorial, and consequently we cannot compare the two with much exactness. In 1849 the income of the London society was \$240,000, of which \$30,000 were received in donations, and the rest from the sale of publications. The income of the American Tract Society for the year ending May 10, 1854, was \$415,000, of which \$156,000 were received in donations. In 1849 the London society gave away books and tracts to the amount of \$39,000 cash value; in 1854, the American society distributed gratuitously 136,696 volumes, and 73,000,000 pages of tracts, besides giving \$20,000 in cash for foreign distribution, worth in all about \$115,000. During the same year, the American society employed six hundred and nineteen colporteurs, who held over twelve thousand public prayer meetings, sold half a million of good books, and visited five hundred and sixty-eight thousand families, of whom thirty thousand were found destitute of the Holy Scriptures.

The American Baptist Publication Society was established in 1824. The Annual Report for 1854, states that the receipts for the year were \$49,612; about \$35,000 having been received from sales, and the rest consisting of donations to the society. Their colporteurs, sixty-seven in number, are half of them ministers, who not only preach as they have opportunity, but baptize converts and organize Churches. The report notes the organization of nine Churches in this way during the year. It may not be out of place to add that the entire corps of workers seem strongly imbued with denominational spirit, though not uncharitably or offensively so, so far as it appears from the document. Many of the books sold by them are controversial in their character, and much zeal is shown to get the community right on the controverted question. The operations of the society are carried on with commendable energy, and the results are good.

The Presbyterian Board of Publication employed the last year one hundred and fifty-one colporteurs, who put in circulation one hundred and thirty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-three bound volumes, and one million three hundred thousand pages of

tracts. Number of families visited, sixty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-five. The total income for the year was \$103,544.

The Protestant Episcopal Society employs no colporteurs, and consequently its business operations are on a comparatively small scale. The income of the society the last year was \$20,915, of which \$1,278 were donations and collections.

The Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church has been recently organized. We should infer from the Report that their well-devised plans will be pursued with energy. One rule in relation to colporteurs is worthy of notice, as its general adoption might be attended with good results:—"No colporteur under the employ of the Board, shall be allowed to interfere with other denominations, and in no case to visit the families of such until he has called upon the pastors and obtained their consent." This publication society has not yet erected buildings for a printing and binding establishment, but has effected an arrangement with the Presbyterian Board of Publication, by virtue of which books and tracts may be procured on the same terms upon which the Presbyterian auxiliaries are supplied.

Our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are also moving with spirit in the tract enterprise. They have lately organized a society for extended operations, and placed at its head one of their ablest men, Rev. J. Hamilton, D. D. All the modern appliances which other Churches have found so efficient, are provided for, conference agents and colporteurs included. As in the operations of the society of our own Church, the publications issued from their General Book Rooms are included in the movement, and the people are thus supplied with all the Methodist books which they want. Their enterprise is not yet fairly inaugurated, and they have not yet published their first report; but from what we have learned of the society, we anticipate extended usefulness as the result of its labours.

Having thus sketched the origin of the tract enterprise, and illustrated the general subject by showing what is doing among some other branches of Zion, we come to the tract enterprise of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

At a very early period in his ministerial career, John Wesley was impressed with the vast power of the press, and the duty of Christians to employ it for God. He accordingly began the good work by publishing volume after volume of substantial works;—sometimes little more than abridgments of books whose reputation was established, but all calculated to promote sound knowledge and true piety. With this, he joined the beginnings of a tract enterprise, by sending forth little publications of two or four pages, entitled "A Word to a



Swearer," "A Word to a Sabbath Breaker," and the like; so that he could, as early as 1745, say, that "within a short time" he had "given away some thousands of little tracts, among the common people." To the last day of his wonderful life, he employed the same powerful agency. With an eagle eye upon the literature of his times, he watched the ebbs and flows, the tossings and the calms of the great mental and moral deep, ready at any moment to launch his life-boats to save the perishing. How well in at least one instance his auxiliary served him, may be seen in the result of the famous controversy of 1771, in which Fletcher of Madeley was, under God, the right arm of his defence, and the press the sharp sword with which error was cloven down.

The fathers of Methodism in America were awake to the importance of wielding this weapon in the cause of God. At the Christmas conference of 1784, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, arrangements were made for the printing of books. In 1789, John Dickens was appointed Book Steward, and the nucleus was formed which grew gradually into our present extended "Book Concern." But it was found that in the prosecution of the various publication enterprises of the Church a division of labour is expedient, as well as in many other departments of human effort, and in 1817, the Tract Society was formed. In his History, Dr. Bangs thus remarks: "The Tract Society was formed this year by some members of our Church, with a view to furnish the poorer classes with religious reading. It is true that a small society, managed by a few pious and benevolent females, had been formed a short time previously, but its operations were extremely limited. The society now formed took a wider range, and commenced publishing its tracts and distributing them with spirit and energy." Dr. Emory, in 1828, when he was senior "Book Steward," advocated the publication of cheap religious books, as well as tracts, and succeeded in creating a new organization called the Publishing Fund for this purpose. The plan was to erect a publishing house for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Bible Society, the Sunday-School Union, and the Tract Society, distinct from the General Book Concern. The framers of this project did not yet aim at gratuitous issues, but to reduce the price of Bibles and other good books to the mere cost of paper, presswork, and binding. The fund never amounted to a sum sufficient to warrant the erection of the contemplated buildings, but the moneys collected were applied to their object in connexion with the establishment already in existence. In March, 1833, the three societies were merged in one, and committed to the same board of management. The fusion gave too many interests into the keeping

of the same hands, and in 1836, the General Conference resolved to unite with other evangelical denominations in the support of the American Bible Society. The Sunday-School Union and the Tract Society remained united till 1840, when the Sunday-School Union was erected into a separate organization, and the tract enterprise was abandoned for the time to its fate. At the General Conference of 1844, Rev. D. P. Kidder was elected "Editor of Sunday-school books and tracts," and the bishops soon after uniting in a circular addressed to the annual conferences, urging the cause upon their sympathies and coöperation, a considerable impetus was given to the movement, and it began to assume more importance.

Still, our appliances were hardly up to the times, and we were not competing on anything like equal terms with other denominations. A local society was formed by the members of the Methodist Church in New-York, in 1846, and an experimental colporteur was sent forth, like the dove from the ark, to see if a new agency might find rest for the sole of its foot. At the end of three months he returned and reported that he had visited six hundred and eighty-six families, and had sold eight hundred religious books and over three thousand pages of tracts, besides making donations to those desirous of possessing but unable to buy. The conviction spread that we must not be laggards in the new field, into which other denominations were already beginning to enter with commendable zeal and great success. In fact, the preachers, especially on the Atlantic states, had become unable or unwilling to follow the example of the fathers in circulating books, and our people found it more easy, in many cases, to supply themselves with the books of other publication societies than with those of our own, and thus there was danger that our denominational literature would be thrust from the position which it ought to occupy. Dr. Kidder, to whom the Church is much indebted in this matter, advocated the formation of a new society; and when the General Conference of 1852 met, he addressed to it a memorial, setting forth strong reasons for the contemplated movement. The bishops had recommended it in their address, several annual conferences had formally approved the measure, and the project met with universal favour.

"The General Conference, with great unanimity, determined upon the organization of a Tract Society, prepared a constitution, and appointed an additional officer, Rev. Abel Stevens, 'editor of the Monthly Magazine and Tracts, and Corresponding Secretary of the Tract Society.'

"On the 10th day of November, 1852, the society began its operations under the most favourable auspices. Its energetic secretary, by direction of the Board, and in obedience to the orders of the General Conference, printed and sent out documents, circulars, and appeals to the Church in various forms; thoroughly revised the list of tracts, replacing those deemed obsolete by new

ones, and added seventy-eight to the number; instituted a volume series which, in the English and other languages, reached, during his administration, sixty-four volumes; travelled extensively, visiting conferences, delivering addresses, assisting in organizing auxiliaries, taking collections, and in various ways stirring up public interest, and directing the actions of the societies. The movement met with a most hearty and enthusiastic response from the Methodist people. The contributions and subscriptions were unexpectedly large. Thirty-six conferences organized auxiliaries—thirteen appointed special agents—some eighty-seven colporteurs were sent out, and the distribution of books and tracts received an impulse of greater influence and power than its most sanguine friends had anticipated.”—*Annual Report of 1855, page 23.*

As the action of the conferences was needful to complete the new organization, the first annual report was not published till December, 1853, and even then it included only the fraction of a year, during which the society may be said to have been in operation. The report, nevertheless, was exceedingly cheering to the most sanguine friends of the enterprise. We append a part of the figures given:—

Conference Auxiliaries.....	36
Colporteurs in actual service.....	87
Conversions reported.....	68
Pages of Tracts sold, (one-third in German).....	6,891,240
Tract volumes sold.....	101,730
Books of General Catalogue sold, value.....	\$12,300
Donations collected.....	\$16,407

As might have been anticipated, the extended operations of the new society, and the important interests involved, soon demanded the entire services of a superintendent, one who could apply both hands to the work, and not, like the builders of Nehemiah, hold the weapon of this warfare in one hand, while with the other he was toiling hard at another enterprise, sufficient of itself for any one man. At the meeting of the Book Committee in February, 1854, Brother Stevens resigned his position in the tract department. His energetic labours have told upon our Church and the cause, and the favourable auspices under which the new enterprise began its career are attributable in no small degree to his vigour and skill. Dr. Jesse T. Peck was elected to the charge of the tract interests, and from his abilities and zeal the Church will expect much.

The second anniversary of the society was held at Portland, Maine, in February last. Those whose privilege it was to attend that three days' festival, with its sermons, addresses, and meetings for telling colporteur experience, must have enjoyed a feast of fat things. In looking over the numerical items of the report presented on that interesting occasion, we cannot but be painfully struck with the difficulty of obtaining full, reliable statistics, in whose preparation many hands

must be employed. To render this report complete, correct replies to twenty regular questions must be had from each of forty auxiliaries. Consequently the totals must be made up from eight hundred separate sums, each of which is an aggregation of items, and the accuracy of the whole depends upon the accuracy and promptness of some two hundred and fifty persons. To train such a regiment to exactness and despatch is of itself no small task, and as in the present case, the most of them are new recruits, no one need be surprised at the imperfections of the returns, and that there are twice as many blanks as there are entries. The figures given foot up as follows:—

Colporteurs employed during the year.....	153
Pages of Tracts distributed.....	11,784,627
Donations collected by ten agents.....	\$19,567
Aggregate receipts of the Society.....	\$61,053
Families visited in fourteen auxiliaries.....	91,751
Conversions reported in nine auxiliaries.....	624
Volumes sold or donated in eight auxiliaries.....	80,613

This, as far as it goes, is exceedingly gratifying; but as a report, it is to us very unsatisfactory. We want the full returns, and we trust that with a little more experience on the part of agents and colporteurs, we shall hereafter have statistics which will not only satisfy curious minds, but prove reliable as a basis for reasoning in regard to the whole system. The Methodists have been blessed with such prompt success in their undertakings hitherto, that they are, of all men, prone to expect immediate fruit of their labours. Like the backwoodsman at the battle of New-Orleans, who, every time he discharged his rifle, leaped upon the breastwork to see what execution he had done, they want to be sure that every shot hits. They wish to know, and they have a right to know, what is effected by the various benevolent operations for which they furnish the sinews. Still, we do not make these remarks by way of censure, but merely to express our strong desire to have full and accurate statistics, and call the attention of the two hundred and fifty persons aforesaid, to the importance of keeping correct accounts in the affairs of the Church.

Enough is given to cheer our hopes and satisfy our reason, in regard to the success of the society. The blessing of God has descended upon it, and the influences of the Holy Spirit have sped with its messages of truth and peace. Light has come into many darkened habitations; angels in heaven have joyed over repentant sinners, and gladness has sprung up in many a sad heart. The faithful labourer, with his package of books, has found favour in the

eyes of the people, the Churches have contributed liberally of their substance, and as it has been happily expressed, the youngest child of the Church seems to be her favourite. With these general remarks on the origin of the society, and its present condition, we turn to those considerations which prompted the enterprise, and have given it the shape it wears.

The field in which it proposes to labour is immense. According to the estimates based on the last census, the United States have at this moment about twenty-seven millions of inhabitants. Four millions, or thereabouts, of these are foreigners, gathered out of "every kindred, and nation, and tongue, under the whole heaven." England sends us her quota of immigrants, generally informed in regard to evangelical truth, and many of them substantial Christians. Ireland pours in a multitude of the followers of the Pope, and, also, some few Protestants, who are generally valuable accessions to the American Churches. Germany is in motion, and her dreamy sons are coming in crowds to till the soil of our fertile plains, and retail lager bier in the cities and towns. Europe is rolling upon our shores the tide of its teeming population, multitudes of whom know not God, even in the scriptural theory. Here, then, is an opening for any amount of Christian effort, and we will be doing no small share of the work of the general Church, if we provide the means of preaching the Gospel to all who come to us.

Our Wesleyan brethren, in contrasting their missionary collections with ours, do not always do us full justice. Their home territory has all been surveyed, their circuits established, their chapels built, and their home work, compared with ours, may be said to be done. The American Methodists, on the contrary, are extending the sphere of their labours in every direction. We probably expend in building and refitting churches and parsonages, and in paying Church debts, a million of dollars annually—perhaps more. We are establishing schools, endowing colleges, and driving on scores of projects at the same time. And every year, almost, some new corner of the territory is found full of special promise, some new enterprise for God and souls is set on foot, and fresh demands are made upon the sympathies, the purses, and the active labours of Christians. We do not believe that any part of universal Zion is working harder, contributing more money, and showing higher hope, more chivalrous enterprise in doing good, than American Methodism. And we would add, with all deliberation, that Christians in other lands would have little cause to reproach Americans with a lack of missionary zeal, if we should abandon the foreign field to them, and devote all our energies to the evangelizing of the crowds of immigrants who

are pouring into our country. Is it a Christian virtue to preach Christ to the idolatrous Chinese? Thousands of the natives of the Celestial Empire are to be found in California, where they have erected a pagoda, the first temple of overt idoiatry in the States. Is it well for us to tell the story of the cross to the sceptical German? There are a million of Germans already within our borders, and the exodus from the fatherland bids fair to continue. Is it our duty to tell the way of faith to the blinded followers of priests, and the superstitious adorers of wafers? They exist in our midst in hundreds of thousands. It may be granted that the proposal to erect a mission church, or establish a Sabbath-school, three streets from our own door, does not rouse a poetic imagination so strongly, or afford so much material for impassioned eloquence, as does the idea of setting up the standard of the cross side by side with the crescent, or building the church hard by the pagoda, or the car of Juggernaut. Yet the missionary efforts put forth to reach and save the destitute on our own soil, have cost fewer lives, and less money proportionably, and have produced more good results, than has any foreign mission undertaken by Americans, not even excepting the Gospel conquest of the Sandwich Islands.

Let no one construe these remarks into censure, or even indifference in regard to efforts to teach the heathen of other lands. In that field we are doing, not too much, but far too little. Still let us not cultivate a philanthropy of such telescopic vision that we become able to see none but distant objects. The deaf mute described by Charlotte Elizabeth, having been patted on the head divers times by his master, in token of commendation, took to patting his head with his own hand whenever he fancied that he had done anything particularly nice or bright. Thus that sapient personage yclept Brother Jonathan, is somewhat fond of patting his own head, and assuring himself that he is the best looking, the most intelligent and virtuous individual visible on the globe, and that he can run faster, fight harder, and make more money than any one else in that extensive precinct known as "all creation." It may cool his vanity, and do him good otherwise, to study carefully a few known facts. Of the eleven millions of our free people, twenty years old and over, one million can neither read nor write. The colporteurs of three of the American societies named at the head of this article, found, in one year, thirty-eight thousand families destitute of the Bible, and this in less than one-fifth of the three millions six hundred thousand families which compose the free part of our nation. If those not called upon were no better supplied, we must have had, at that time, two hundred thousand families living without the Scriptures in their



dwelling. The colporteurs of the American Tract Society, during the same period, visited ninety-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one families who heard no evangelical preaching. In 1850, an army of twenty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-nine persons were convicted of crime in the various courts of our nation, while the paupers numbered the mightier host of one hundred and thirty-five thousand; more than half of whom were foreigners. Here is an appalling amount of ignorance, crime and misery, in our very midst. It was one of John Randolph's best sayings, that he uttered in reply to a collector of funds for foreign operations:—"Madam, the heathen are at your own doors."

Foreign immigration is a subject which should attract the earnest attention of the Christian as well as the patriot. For the last five years immigrants have been arriving at the rate of about three hundred and fifty thousand annually, the vast majority coming from papal Ireland and sceptical Germany. Persevering efforts are made to keep them what they are, and yet they are far more accessible to truth here than at home. Infidel papers in his mother tongue, playing artfully upon the innate love of home and home ideas and customs, so peculiarly strong in the German, teach him low pleasures and low morals. In regard to the Catholics in this country, the grand device of the priests, and of papal workers of every description, is to teach their dupes to hate and despise Protestants, to regard them as their bitter enemies, and consider even acts of kindness from them, as designed only to delude and betray. Still, in spite of all efforts to keep the eyes of "the faithful" closed, many will now and then steal a glance at things about them. The truth falls upon them from every quarter, and with alarming facility they learn to think for themselves. Romish functionaries are evidently sore troubled by the independence and intractability of their once abject, obedient followers. Hence one of the dignitaries of the Church declares that Catholics who are not compelled to emigrate, ought to remain at home, and not come to this dangerous land, where their children, if not themselves, will be sure to stray from the papal fold. A priest, in reply to the question whether professed Catholics in this country are as good Catholics, as obedient to the priests, and as faithful to Church observances, as in the lands from which they come, declared with great emphasis: "*The very atmosphere of this country is full of insubordination.*" According to their own confessions their craft is in danger. Popery is not only compelled to forego its prerogative of coercion when it embarks on the Atlantic, but is even compelled to leave behind some of its most effective machinery for moving the ignorant and the credulous. In

American chapels, gypsum angels conduct themselves with commendable propriety, and the painted Madonna never disturbs the gravity of the priest by tipping him a profane wink as he carries around the plate for the contributions of believers. Catholics here take the papers, and begin to reason with regard to the claims of the various ecclesiastical bodies around them. The anxiety of the bishops to have all Church property vested in themselves is a very significant fact. It looks very much as if they anticipate insubordination and insurrection among their followers, and if they cannot prevent the people from slipping through their fingers, they wish, at all events, to make sure of the property. These things show that in this land of light, some rays will penetrate even the dark caverns of Rome, and wake the sleepers.

Here, then, is one important part of our field of labour. A million and a half of Catholics are in our midst, with the scales falling from their eyes, and the Spirit of God whispering to their hearts. They can be more easily reached by books and tracts than by the living teacher. In the code of the priest, to enter a Protestant church and hear a sermon is a heinous sin, to be visited with a ten-fold heavier penance than lying, drunkenness, or profanity. Moreover, it is a visible thing, and the priest or his spies will detect it and sound the Church thunders. But the book or the tract can be put away from the prying eye of the "holy father," and if the confessional should fail to draw it out, his reverence may console himself with the fact that there are other persons to whom the practice of fibbing, too prevalent among certain classes of his disciples, has often proved annoying.

Tracts and religious books may also be employed with good effect by our missionaries in foreign countries. Many idolatrous nations, as the Chinese, the Hindoos, and the Japanese, are given to reading, and the tract for which so many eager hands are stretched out toward the "teacher," may go from hand to hand, and from dwelling to dwelling, like a beam of Heaven's own light. The following interesting fact, to which we might add scores of others from the reports of the various publication societies, is taken from the Report of the American Tract Society. It is related by the Rev. Dr. Scudder, missionary at Madras:—

"The case is that of K. Das, a respectable man of the weaver caste, who *without ever seeing a missionary, or a Christian* of any kind, has for a considerable time renounced idolatry, and been in the enjoyment of the consolations of the Gospel. His account of himself is as follows. He returned from a pilgrimage to Juggernaut very much dissatisfied with what he saw there, and his mind ill at ease about the worship of idols. In his own village he obtained a tract, entitled 'God is a Spirit.' This he read again and again. He then

heard that some missionaries had been seen in a village near to his own, and had distributed tracts there. He went, as he said, to beg, buy, or borrow some of them. He obtained a volume of tracts, and the Gospel by John. He soon made himself acquainted with their contents, and commenced in secret to pray to the living God. He then disowned his former idols and all connexion with them. He at first met with great opposition, both from his own family and his neighbours; but as he had some influence, and was able to plead his own cause with a good deal of ability, he did not at first meet with much persecution. He continued worshipping the true God for almost two years, before we again visited the district. So soon as he heard of our arrival, he came to us with the request that we would preach in his village; after which he declared his belief in the Saviour whom we had preached, and wished to be baptized. He gave so satisfactory an account of his conversion, that we invited him to Berhampore, that he might be received into the Church by baptism. We may add that he has since been baptized, and gives us reason to hope he will become a very efficient native preacher."—P. 152.

The means which we are using with so much success in spreading the truth among our own people, has thus been found a valuable auxiliary in the foreign field. Shall American Methodists abandon this effective instrument to other denominations—let them do all the work and have all the reward? We rejoice to know that our society, young as it is, has already put forth forty-two different publications in the German, Danish and Swedish languages, and that our missionaries are employing them with good success.

In regard to the enterprise in general, let us glance at the motives which urge us to the performance of our duty. A thousand millions of immortals live upon the earth to-day, each shaping an eternal destiny. Sinners may drag each other down to hell; the Christian may lift souls heavenward. Aliens from God must be won by truth and love. God places the truth in our hands, and commands us to "Preach the Gospel to every creature." Tell of Jesus to the perishing. Spread the good tidings. Give them voice on every wind. Speak to the ear—address the eye. Let the living teacher and the mute evangelist go hand in hand, and go everywhere. Let the Church not be fearful, but arise, full of faith and hope, and "sow beside all waters." Already in China, in Burmah, in Ceylon, in Turkey, in France and Germany and Sweden, in Mexico, South America and Australia, the living witness and the voiceless messenger have gone, and already the wilderness breaks forth in songs. If we love souls, and desire to see our Saviour glorified, let us neglect no available means for spreading the tidings of great joy.

But there are additional motives which appeal strongly to our patriotic emotions and principles. Free institutions cannot be permanent, unless based on the solid foundation of national intelligence and national morality. Is our rock so strong that we can bear, without danger, the annual addition of a hundred thousand

votes, controlled by infidel agitators, or wily Jesuits, more attached to a foreign despot than to American liberties? Is there not a possibility that this new force will be exerted amiss, in opposing salutary reforms, and in elevating to office unworthy men, under whose weak or corrupt rule, law shall cease to protect the innocent and to be a terror to the guilty?

It is evident that we ought to adopt all right measures to Americanize, as rapidly as possible, our foreign-born citizens and their descendants. The sooner the foreign language, and the foreign manners and customs are laid aside—the sooner American modes of thought and feeling are acquired—the better. In fact, the first generation trained up on American soil, and in habits of daily intercourse with Americans, lose, to a very great degree, the peculiarities of the races from which they sprung. But there is no bond of union like that of religion. It takes hold upon the deepest emotions of our nature, and the most tender fibres of the heart, and from it springs the strongest brotherhood that binds man to his fellow. In seeking, therefore, to harmonize and soften down our various national elements into one safe, healthful and beautiful whole, there is no means comparable with judicious, honest, Christian effort to enlighten their minds and save their souls. Send out ministers, colporteurs, books, tracts, that the dwellers in our republican Babel may exclaim, as did the Jews who had come up to Palestine from many lands: "We do hear them speak IN OUR TONGUE, the wonderful words of God."

But there is a denominational motive, as well as a patriotic one, to deal liberally with the Tract enterprise. Other denominations have entered the field, and laboured with great zeal, and already their reapers return with joy, bringing their sheaves with them. That mammoth institution, the American Tract Society, is in the receipt of an income seven times as great as that of our society, and employs four colporteurs where we employ one. The various sections of the general Church are organizing, or have years ago organized, cheap publication societies, and are preparing every year for a more extensive and vigorous prosecution of the enterprise. Many of their publications are strongly denominational, and not a few of them contain direct attacks upon the spirit, doctrines and polity of the Methodist Church. Some denominations, too, send forth their colporteurs to coöperate with their home mission and church extension associations, and wherever it is practicable, congregations are organized, pastors are established, and possession is taken of the land. Christian zeal and intelligent activity are creditable to those who manifest them, and if we suffer others to outdo us, we must bear it in silence.

It may be added, with truth, that even books not directly inculcating doctrinal peculiarities, are nevertheless frequently one-sided in their effect. There pertains to each doctrinal school, not only a peculiar dogmatic system, but a peculiar style of general thought and expression, and a peculiar style of emotion, which act and react upon each other and tend to mutual reproduction. None but a genuine Methodist can write a genuinely Methodist book; a genuine Calvinist can write nothing but a Calvinistic book; and the unprejudiced person who reads attentively the book of either, however free from sectional peculiarities it may be, will be more or less deeply inoculated with the theological system of the author. These various societies are pushing their work with great diligence, and within the last two years they have probably visited half the dwellings of our entire nation. And they make little distinction among those upon whom they call. A Baptist colporteur will stop at the door of a Methodist, and a Methodist visit a Presbyterian family, and both be successful in selling books. This fact is so undeniable that the Report of the Presbyterian Board asserts, in emphatic italics, that "*The denominational character of their publications causes no material hindrance to their circulation.*" We may rest assured that our people will be supplied with books from some quarter, and if we deal with a slack hand, and fail to supply their wants, we ought to rejoice that other communions have the wisdom and energy to cultivate the field which would otherwise be a desert. If we fail to meet the requirements of the times, and thus lose our commanding position, we will deserve to lose it; and if, while neglect and apathy drag us down, others rise by laborious Christian effort, they deserve their success.

Still we do not like to profess a magnanimity for which there is no occasion. We confess that we utter these things the more boldly from our strong conviction that the Methodist Church will not be remiss in this matter. Her leading minds have always been noted for faith, hope, and energy in every good word and work; her whole career is full of bold enterprise, and her ministers and people are as full as ever of the old fire. She will still win her triumphs, by the blessing of her Master, in new efforts to spread the truth of God. So far from being merely a casket in which the pearls are treasured up, the Church must be the strong diver that plunges into the ocean and gropes along its oozy bottom in search of the precious spoil. The Church should be full of life and power, bold to plan, and strong to execute her benevolent designs. Petty schemes, narrow views, and small faith have no place in planning the campaigns of the Gospel, and the more of spiritual bravery any branch of the Church

militant manifests, the more rapid its progress, the broader and deeper its mark upon the times.

Methodism owes its vast success not simply to the plain, common-sense truth of its theology, but, speaking after the manner of men, to the vigour and energy which its founders infused into it. John Wesley had no idea at first of the magnitude to which the movement would swell, yet his eye was quick to detect and his hand quick to seize opportunity; and, by a rare combination of prudence and chivalrous enterprise, nothing was lost through either rashness or timidity. Itinerant preaching, pastoral visiting, Sabbath schools, tract distribution, and the cheap volume enterprise, all were set in motion; and, in fact, John Wesley seems to have rallied around him, with almost prophetic wisdom, all the appliances and instrumentalities which the modern Church has found so efficacious for good. The greater the degree in which the followers of Wesley inherit his spirit of evangelical gallantry, the more they will do for God and for souls, the more deep and permanent will be their mark upon the age.

The press is an agency which no branch of the Church can neglect without a loss of power, and which Methodists will never neglect while they inherit any of the far-sighted wisdom of the fathers. When Martin Luther threw his inkstand at the devil, he used the right weapon, though not exactly in the right way. Next in importance to the voice of the living teacher come the types. Infidelity knows this fact, and utters its venom in many a scurrilous pamphlet, and in many a volume, more pretending but no less false. The Church understands it, and lays a strong hand upon the same powerful weapon. Thus, the press becomes a strong battery, whose guns can be turned upon friend or foe, and for the possession of which the moral belligerents contend in many a fierce attack and stubborn defence.

But we are in danger of exceeding due bounds in the length of this paper, and we therefore turn to the consideration of the various parts of our new organization, The Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If a new enterprise of the Church is to be set on foot, the first requisite is a *brain*—a strong practical mind to lay the plans and manage the interests of the enterprise, both temporal and spiritual. There must be some one to think, some one whose love of souls and whose sense of responsibility to God and the Church, will cause him to apply to the work all his energies of body and soul. It seems out of place to take funds collected for benevolent purposes, and pay away even a part of them in salaries, which, from the very necessity of the case, must be comparatively high. Yet if the objection be valid, it lies with equal weight against a paid,



or "supported" pastoral ministry. Even in cases where the pulpit might be supplied gratuitously, the congregation gladly sustain a man whose sole business it is to look after the spiritual interests of his flock. But if the interests of one congregation, composed of a few hundreds of persons, residing in the same vicinity, demand all the energies of a superintendent, what must be said of the benevolent undertakings of the Church, with their vast importance, the number of labourers employed in various ways, and their business intricacies? These considerations have induced the authorities to create a new Book-Room officer,—the Corresponding Secretary of the Tract Society,—and in their judgment the Church will undoubtedly acquiesce. The Report mentions the labours of the present secretary, by which it appears that in less than one year he travelled over fourteen thousand miles, attended twenty-seven annual conferences, and delivered two hundred and twenty-eight addresses and sermons, besides editing books and tracts, and looking after the interests of the society in general.

In addition to the general superintendent of the society, the plan contemplates the appointment, wherever practicable, of conference agents. It is true that the pastors of the individual congregations are men of ability as well as the agent, and as capable of representing the abstract cause to the people of their respective charges. But more than this: we will take it for granted that the pastor will take hold of the subject so earnestly, that his appeals elicit the same interest and the same pecuniary results, as would the labours of the conference agent; yet there remain other considerations in favour of the appointment of the agent. He must gather a band of colporteurs, assign them their several fields of labour, and oversee their operations generally. So important is this superintendency, that some of the publication societies have in the service two classes of officers, one to address Churches and collect funds, and the other to marshal the hosts of colportage, explore the fields to be won, and plan the campaign against ignorance and irreligion. Our report thus describes the work of the conference agent:—

"The agents are labourers. They visit promptly every district, to organize the work, and as rapidly as possible the several charges, to present to the people the subject of reading in all its varied aspects. They are bound to inform themselves upon the power of the press, the peculiarities of current literature, to point out its dangerous tendencies, put our people upon their guard, exhibit faithfully the excellence of our own publications, create or stimulate an interest in Methodist books, and prepare the way for their sale. They are to exhibit faithfully the various benevolent demands of the Tract Society, in connexion with the pastor take up the annual collections and subscriptions, and see to the appointment of tract stewards in all the charges and tract distributors in all the classes. They are to carry out the orders of the Board, in appointing

colporteurs, purchasing books and tracts, and appropriating funds. They are to supervise and stimulate the whole work in their respective conferences. They are to keep strict and accurate business accounts, write to the corresponding secretary an informal statement of their own labours every month and transmit complete official quarterly and annual reports according to instructions, and form a strong bond of union between the parent and auxiliary societies." Page 42.

The colporteurs are in fact the rank and file of the army, or as the Baptist Report styles them, "the right arm of the service." We had constructed a brief argument to show the great efficiency of this class of workers; but we find the thing so well done in the Report of the Dutch Reformed Society, that we prefer to quote; merely observing that what colporteurs have accomplished for others they will accomplish for us:—

"The experience of every religious Board of Publication has been that, in order to diffuse their publications and expand their influence, they were compelled to adopt a system of agencies which has received the approved cognomen of colportage. However valuable and desirable the publications of a Board may be, their sale and distribution, if dependent upon retail custom, must necessarily be too limited to pay even expenses, and as you restrict the field of circulation, you also narrow down, to a very small compass, the sphere of influence exerted, and lessen the good aimed to be accomplished. This your Board has already felt, and that to such an extent as to prompt them to the preparation of a plan for colportage, to be appended to their operations, which is herewith submitted to General Synod for its consideration and adoption.

"If the publications of your Board are to be widely circulated, and the peculiar features of our own Church more extensively known, we must have our own colporteurs traversing the land, visiting our people, scattering the light, instructing the ignorant, and leaving behind them, as they go from house to house and from field to field, that which will arouse the conscience, convict the sinner, comfort the saint, and, at the same time, that which will teach the Christian public the true nature, the admirable features, the Christian spirit, and the prospective destiny of the Reformed Dutch Church. By this means seed will be sown which will produce an abundant harvest of good, both to the souls of men, and also to the Church we honour and love. The Presbyterian Church owes much of its church-extension under God to the faithful labours of the colporteurs of its Board of Publication, who have carried their works into distant places, which would never have been reached but through this instrumentality. And we are firmly of the opinion that such would be our experience as a Church, if the same means were employed under a similar restrictive system."

The efficiency of the system is demonstrated by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, who adopted it in 1848, and in six years nearly trebled the business of the society.

Several of the publication societies employ students in theological and other schools, during vacation. The American Tract Society, in 1854, employed eighty-eight, and the Baptist Society thirteen, in this way. The Dutch Reformed Society has made provision for the same kind of labourers. This seems to us a judicious arrangement.

Young men looking forward to usefulness in the Church, are brought in contact with the people, and thus the abstractions of the books become realities; the future pastor learns men as they are, and how to approach them, in order to do them good. Before a colporteur can be commissioned in the Dutch Reformed Society, he must present a certificate from his pastor, giving information on the following points, which will present an idea of the proper qualifications:—

“1st. His age. 2d. The fact of his Church membership and its duration. 3d. His occupation. 4th. Whether single or married. If married, the number and circumstances of his family. 5th. That his Christian experience, education, tact, judgment, and energy are such as will render him both efficient as a colporteur and acceptable to the people. 6th. Whether he possesses sufficiently accurate business habits, as to enable him to keep his accounts correctly, and also properly to report the same to the committee. 7th. That his character for integrity is such as to warrant the committee in intrusting their publications in his hands. 8th. The length of time he proposes to engage in the service of the Board as colporteur. 9th. The field he desires to occupy.”

The report of our own society thus describes their peculiar province:—

“The colporteurs are labourers. They are to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the plans and policy of the parent and auxiliary societies, and with Methodist literature especially; to offer the books from house to house; to search out the poor, the sick, and the neglected everywhere; distribute tracts, offer kind religious instruction and prayers, especially wherever the people are under no evangelical pastoral charge; gather the people into the churches, and the children into Sunday schools; hold meetings whenever practicable; to collect funds when instructed to do so; to keep accurate business accounts; make full monthly reports according to instructions; to put themselves into communication with the pastors, act under their advice, and constitute a strong bond of union between all the districts and the conference societies.” Page 42.

In comparing the financial systems of the different societies, we find various modes of fixing the compensation of colporteurs. The American Tract Society, as well as most of the others, pays each man two hundred dollars per year and his travelling expenses. The entire expense, salary included, is about two hundred and eighty dollars a year. In the operations of the Presbyterian Board the entire expense reaches nearly one dollar and fifty cents per day of actual service. The society of the M. E. Church, South, furnishes books at prime cost, and allows the colporteur, in selling them, to charge a small advance, to remunerate himself. Our own society adopts in some cases the percentage plan, in others the fixed salary. The American Tract Society prefers the salary system, because there is then “no pecuniary inducement for turning aside from destitute households. Benevolent sympathy is left to its fullest exercise, and

the book-bearer may plead with immortal souls, to 'buy the truth and sell it not,' without the possible suspicion of interested motives."

In the Methodist organization another wheel is added to the machinery, the tract steward in each charge. He is to the corps of tract distributors in his congregation, or neighbourhood, what the conference agent is to his brigade of colporteurs. He is to superintend the work generally, "see that distributors are appointed in all the classes, that the collections are taken, and the supply and distribution of tracts are judicious, regular, and thorough." The tract distributors go through the community, endeavouring, in a quiet, unobtrusive way, to adapt to its work the tract left at a house, or put into the hands of an individual; oftentimes giving therewith a word of pious counsel. They watch the seed with interest, and if it germinates, are ready to cultivate it, till it ripens into the good fruit of personal salvation.

This, then, is a hasty sketch of a movement which is at the same time a noble monument and the fitting exponent of the intellectual progress and the enlightened benevolence of the age. Like other benevolent enterprises it appeals to the people for men and money. It points to the thick darkness brooding over millions; it points to the souls that grope in the gloom; and asks for help in the work of leading them to the light. It points to the souls saved, as an earnest of what may be accomplished; the first sheaves, which are at once a pledge that the harvest is surely approaching, and an example of its rich fruits. It points to the treasures of the Church, and declares that the gold and the silver, and the cattle on a thousand hills, are the Lord's. It appeals to our love of God, of souls, of our native land, of all that is desirable in a national or personal point of view. One of the most powerful and the most successful of the agencies of the Church, it demands the prayers, the sympathies, the support, and the active coöperation of the friends of true progress, and of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

## ART. II.—MEMOIRS OF DUPIN.

1. *Mémoires de M. Dupin.* Tome 1er et 2ème.

2. *Souvenirs du Barreau.* Par M. Dupin, avocat, ancien batonnier. Paris, 1855.

THE French, it has been often noted, are a *memoir*-writing people; but the cause of the peculiarity is less agreed upon than the fact. The explanation of the French themselves is, that their nation is the most enlightened, the best prepared for observation, the best provided with things worth writing; while the opinion of foreign countries imputes the tendency to national vanity.

There is some truth in each account, but not the complete truth in both together. The French undoubtedly pursue parade, not alone in toilet and in table, but even up to the dress and display of typography: indeed, the latter is a mere extension of the ostentatious practice from the exterior and the corporeal to the spiritual personality. But in the leaning to this sort of authorship, wherein the writer plays the hero, the French motive is much less selfish than it is social. A Frenchman publishes his memoirs not quite to glorify himself; he often makes the publication anonymously, or even posthumously; nay, he occasionally gives memorials that are discreditable to himself, as for example the *Confessions* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: all which cases are scarce consistent with the predominance of mere vanity.

Again, the French are, of all civilized nations, possessed of the least *individuality*. But we should consequently find among them the least propensity to memoir-writing, either as a means of notoriety or an effect of self-importance. The self-important man, that is, the man of individuality, is not inclined, in fact, to give his memoirs to the public; not that he does not set a higher value on his reminiscences or observations, but that he sets a lower than common on the approbation of others; it is precisely the distinction between vanity and pride. The French propensity to writing *memoirs* cannot then proceed from either, compatibly with the defective individuality of this people—not even from the source of vanity, in at least the ordinary selfish sense.

The main motive is effectually *social*. It is in fact the same yearning for self-communication which inspires the conversational and public habits of the French. The French people, male and female, talk, eat, and live in common; and if they do not also sleep so, it is because of the impossibility. A Frenchman, therefore, who

has been obliged by the discretions of official business to keep for years from conversation on the sayings and doings of his "experiences," feels overwhelmed by the load until he gets rid of it in the shape of memoirs. There is of course a share of vanity in the importance which he thus attaches to them; but he does so, not alone because they refer principally to himself, but because he thinks they must be likewise interesting or instructive to the public: and this social destination redeems the weakness or the vice of vanity.

On the other hand, the explanation which the French themselves give of their memoir-writing, falls substantially within the terms of the same solution of sociability. For this spirit of self-infusion with the life and confidence of the community is the effect only of complete equality—of democracy; and democracy implies a relatively high intelligence and civilization.

A confirmation of the connexion is the fact, that great advances in the direction of liberality have all been followed by a rage for *memoirs*. Such was the case in England after both her revolutions, of which the largest portion of the history has been recorded in the shape of memoirs. Our own American revolution presents a fuller, as more forward, instance, of which the histories continue still to be conglomerates of *memoirs*, or of biographies which are but memoirs in their application to third parties. The correspondence of both these personal and popular modes of writing with the progress and the prevalence of social equalization is proved directly by their growing vogue in the most democratic of communities; for, in this country, have we not everybody's memoirs or biography, down to those of retired showmen?

The same phenomenon, but in a duly higher sphere, followed each of the three principal revolutions of France. The calm succeeding the first and greatest was filled with memoirs and biographies, to the exclusion, almost total, of the higher sorts of publications. It is the philosophic explanation of the absence in the first Empire of that only "illustration" which Europe's master failed to supply,—the illustration of creative literature and philosophy. But these are things not to be called forth by pecuniary or potential patronage, but by the stimulating presence of an appreciative public; and the public of the first Empire, being almost wholly and merely popular, it could appreciate only memoirs—that is, particulars and personalities. The Restoration, on the contrary, produced at once a blaze of genius, because the public then addressed was the returned aristocracy. Thus quite spontaneous, when we have the clue, is the solution of these two great questions, which still con-



tinue, in France itself, to be considered mystical and contradictory. The "despotism" of Napoleon would serve the purpose of a certain party, to explain the intellectual barrenness of his reign; but that an equal despotism should produce an *opposite* effect cannot be swallowed by the logic of even political partisanship. The social law may be expressed, in fine, in this familiar formula: In proportion as the popular masses attain to influence upon public opinion, which is the first and most conspicuous consequence of all progressive revolutions, the corresponding publications proceed both *from* and *to* the memory, as being the simplest productive faculty of the mind; and in proportion as the reading public are, on the other hand, repurified, by "restoration" of the instructed classes or by education of the popular masses, the works of intellect ascend progressively along the series of creative faculties, imagination, reflection, reason.

Accordingly, and to return to our historical indications, the revolution of July, too, brought back the *memoirs*, the professors, and the journalists. The visitation now succeeding the repetition of 1848, though duly milder from the restriction on these two last classes of propagandists, is spreading recently into a mania of memoir-writing. Nothing else (excepting pamphlets about the war) appears at Paris. The most prolific of the romancers fall back on memory from imagination. The famous Alexander Dumas has lately published his precious memoirs, and, episodically, everybody else's. George Sand recounts more modestly her more instructive or suggestive "life," which, by the way, seems very different from what the world had imagined. Even Dr. Veron, a retired journalist, has favoured Paris with his memoirs—which is as low, we see, as things go here, as Veron had been also showman: with the distinction, however, in *honour* of the two American parallels, that the French humbug had been a man of education.

Returning upward, the standard writers and the stanchest statesmen are all for memoirs. The philosopher Cousin is writing memoirs of female saints; and, from being Coryphæus of skepticism, is turned continuator of Alban Butler. Another dabbler in philosophy has just propounded a complete system, which he makes himself the centre of, and calls the "*Memoirs* of his Times;" a thing, however, in which he differs from the great majority of his predecessors only in the probably unconscious candour of his title. M. Villemain, the former Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe, can do no better than give us volumes of his "*Souvenirs*." And the grave Guizot quits in turn, his lucubrations upon English history to publish penitential memoirs of his late lamented

administration. What wonder, then, that the most variously-experienced as well as oldest, the most voluminous and the most versatile of French jurists and politicians, the most fidgety and witty and vainglorious of living Frenchmen should have bethought him, amid this rage, to write his *Memoirs*?

M. Dupin was in public life for something over half a century. For thirty years he was at the bar, for twenty years upon the bench; and, simultaneously, he was for most of the time an active politician, in opposition or in office with all parties and all governments. An acute spectator, behind the curtain, of the rise and fall of three dynasties, it was however only in 1830 that his official career commenced. Nor did it close upon the downfall of his patron, Louis Philippe; M. Dupin, it will be remembered, became republican in 1848, and was even speaker of the constituent assembly—which adds the passage of a fourth and democratic dynasty to his experience. He even made, it is said, advances to the succeeding and present régime. But Louis Napoleon's stern contempt for political cameleons, even when they take his own hue, gave a deaf ear to these advances; and so Dupin took the occasion of the confiscation of the Orleans property, of which he was head agent, to quit the magistracy and the public stage. What will give zest and credibility to his disclosures through this long experience is, that he seeks not to dissemble these shocking variations, and merely answers, quite professionally, that he kept throughout to his first profession—that of advocating all causes alike for cash.

It will be curious to peruse his *Memoirs* at the epoch of the republic, and learn the plottings to draw the democrats into the interest of the Orleanists. This, with all the properly political department of his experience, is reserved for the forthcoming volumes of the publication. The present are confined exclusively to his professional career. But having held a leading position as advocate at the French bar for twenty years of social turmoil and political reaction, he was employed in all the celebrated causes of that stirring period; and there are several of sufficient interest, political and even romantic, to be made more intimately known to foreign readers. As to the purely civil and professional portion of the *Memoirs*, any notice of them would concern only the gentlemen of the bar; and to this fraction of our readers we can spare room but for a few statistics, which may suggest to them the lore and labour of a leading advocate in Europe.

The *civil* causes in which M. Dupin either pleaded or gave counsel amounted, in the period mentioned, to over four thousand. The manuscript collection of his "consultations" alone, that

is to say, his written opinions or rather arguments, compose some twenty folio volumes, each from seven to eight hundred pages. In addition, the *printed* briefs, to be distributed to the judges in cases which he argued orally, make a collection of twenty-two volumes! M. Dupin has besides published books or pamphlets upon most subjects within the sphere of jurisprudence and even politics. He has even written one of them in Latin. It is true, indeed, that they are all short, as befits the temperament of the writer, constitutionally barred from keeping long to any subject. But they are granted to be sound and erudite, as far as such a feat is possible to a man utterly devoid of philosophic principle. It should be added to the labours and the merits of M. Dupin, that he is the self-retained and standing advocate of the "Gallican Church."

We now proceed to a running notice of a few of his "*Causes Célèbres*," upon the personages or the incidents of which the Memoirs throw some new light. As some of the principal had their occasion in the well-known episode of the *Cent-Jours*, or the return of Napoleon from Elba, the public memoirs of our author commence with 1815, and some particulars of the last moments of the Empire. He remarks that at the Restoration, the Bourbons were so little known to even persons of the age and position of himself, then a prominent lawyer, that most of them were ignorant of the names and titles of these princes. Pamphlets and proclamations were required to remind the people that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, at first Count of Provence, then Count of Lille, entitling himself Louis XVIII., emigrant of 1792, was brother of Louis XVI., immolated in 1793; and that Count d'Artois, who was the first to emigrate, was the brother of King Louis XVIII. A trait remarkably characteristic of the obliviousness of the French people, or more familiarly the levity imputed to the Celtic race.

The Napoleonic restoration aforesaid of the hundred days, was the occasion of the maiden entrance of M. Dupin upon the stage of politics. The sinking emperor on his return made a concession to liberalism by the "Act Additional" to the "Constitutions of the Empire." By this amendment the Senate was transformed into a Chamber of *Peers*, to be appointed, however, by the emperor himself, and the Corps Législatif into a Chamber of *Representatives*, who were to be elected by the people. M. Dupin was made a representative at the resulting general election.

He owns, however, with a modesty for which he is not very famous, that the competition for election was not crowded; but he does so to bring in the reason, which fully compensates his *amour*

*propre*, to wit, the difficulty of the position at that crisis. He accepted, notwithstanding, upon the rule of conduct above ascribed to him: "An advocate, I did not deem myself changing profession or ministry, I only considered myself as having a cause additional to defend—the cause of my country."

The new cause he set accordingly to plead at once in professional fashion. Napoleon, seeking to secure to himself the fickle faith of the new Chambers, required the members to take an oath of fidelity. But our bustling barrister objected that there was no authority for this requirement in the constitutional "bond," and that the form, if insisted on, should be in virtue of an express law. M. Dupin proposed, moreover, a general revision of the imperial constitution, even as amended, and with the purpose, now avowed, of forcing Napoleon to abdicate again. He denies, however, what the French historians of the epoch have imputed to him, that he laboured for the substitution of the then Duke of Orleans. He wished, he says, only that the nation should be left free to choose its king; free not only from foreign influence, but even from legislative nomination. So far was he, it seems, from offering a new candidate for royalty, that an interrupter asked M. Dupin "Why he did not propose a republic?" To which the wit, with his habitual promptitude, responded, by a line of Corneille:—

"*Le pire des États est l'État populaire.*"<sup>o</sup>

An axiom, adds the author, since abundantly verified;—referring, no doubt, to 1848. And yet he took an active part, and even an office in this popular government. But he did it, we should remember, in his *professional* capacity, and as an advocate who undertakes a bad cause to make the most of it.

The same event of the return of Napoleon from Elba, which gave commencement to the parliamentary career of M. Dupin, produced him also some of the most glorious of his professional clients. It is known that several generals of the Empire, who had retained office on the first restoration of the Bourbons, and had broken faith to join Napoleon upon his landing upon French soil, were excluded, by the final restoration, from the general amnesty which had been stipulated by the army and the city of Paris with the Allies, whose obligations were of course imperative upon the princes they placed in power. Nevertheless, one of the first measures of the reaction was an ordinance directing the arrest and the trial by councils of war of all the generals placed in the circumstances stated. All of them who did not take to exile, were tried accordingly and punished,

<sup>o</sup> Democracy is the worst of governments.

some by imprisonment, and one, the greatest, the gallant Ney, by execution.

Most of these illustrious "traitors" were defended successively by M. Dupin. This signal fortune he did not owe, however, to professional celebrity, being still but a young lawyer of thirty-three years of age, and not even, we have seen, a Bonapartist politically. But he had the courage and the talent to attack the ordinance of proscription as a violation of the capitulation of Paris. Though this was done in the shape of a *Mémoire* presented to the ministry, and published only some years later in full, yet the journals of the day somehow obtained extracts and analyses which gave publicity to its merits and illustrious clientage to its author. In the incipient case, however, he was assistant-barrister, not leading advocate.

This case first in order, as in eminence, was that of the "bravest of the brave." We do not notice in the Memoirs any new disclosures on the trial of Ney which would be popularly interesting to our readers. The thirty pages given to the subject are mostly filled up with legal logic, arguing over the defeated case and discharging sarcasms at a dead dynasty. The writer has too much the air of the pensioner in Goldsmith, who—

"Shouldered his crutch, and showed how fields were won."

Only that M. Dupin has had to show, not how his field was won, but how it *ought* to have been won if his arguments had received fair play. The demonstration was quite superfluous, more especially in France. The flat infraction of the treaty is known or evident in every country. The terms of the amnesty embraced in fact all persons "*whatsoever may have been their politics, their functions, and their conduct.*" The trials in question were in most flagrant contradiction of this stipulation. All these details of the acuteness and erudition of the writer were therefore valueless, unless to glorify the subaltern advocate. So unscrupulously greedy is he, in fact, of every rag of praise, that he strips the memory of his noble client of the famous protest upon his trial which won such intellectual honour to the hero.

The defence proposing naturally to allege as quite conclusive the above clause of the Convention of Paris, the reading was ruled out by the Chamber of Peers, which was the court by which the marshal, as peer, insisted on being tried. The objection, which was technical, and pitifully technical, was instantly refuted by some noble members of the Chamber; but it was carried by a confused vote of the base body. This proceeding, which took place in the momentary absence of both the prisoner and his counsel from the Chamber, threw the

latter, on being informed of it, into legal consternation, as it showed the court determined to have its victim. On reappearing before the House, they however offered to read the article. But being forbidden by the president, who, in a word of explanation, made an allusion to the character of Frenchmen, Ney himself arose, and said in a firm voice: "Yes, I am a Frenchman, and I will die a Frenchman." He then read with the same firmness and dignity the following protest: "Hitherto my defence has appeared to be free; but I perceive that it is obstructed at this moment. I thank my generous defenders for what they have done, and for what they are still ready to do; but I prefer not to be defended at all than to have but the semblance of a defence. What! I am accused in contravention of the faith of treaties, and I am not allowed to put those treaties in evidence! I appeal upon it to Europe and to posterity!"

In this apostrophe, to which the position and circumstances of the speaker gave an immense *éclat* at the moment, and a still subsisting interest, the Memoirs tell us that we are to recognise the "thunder" of Dupin. He even apprizes us that it was written by him at the spur of the moment and amid the consternation, above alluded to, of the recess—comprising also, of course, the self-applied encomium on the "generous" advocates. The marshal merely copied it that he might read with more facility, and M. Dupin preserved this copy, of which he gives us a fac-simile. He even took care, he owns, to have the original of these few lines asked back from Ney, who had already very naturally thrown it in the fire. For M. Dupin would not defraud posterity of a single line of his composition.

What is somewhat more important than these puerilities of senile vanity, the author rectifies, on this occasion, a long-accredited historical error. It has been generally said that Ney, through an indignant patriotism, refused at first to be defended by the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. M. Dupin evinces clearly that this chivalrous susceptibility was a poetical embellishment of the historians. Among other decisive evidences, he refers to the three notes, of which the first had been addressed by Ney himself to the allied ambassadors, and the two others by his leading advocate and by his wife, in succession, to the Duke of Wellington alone, to claim the benefit of this treaty. But Wellington, who had the soul as well as the intellect of a drill-sergeant, was deaf at once to justice and to generosity. M. Dupin, however, thinks he was so from a very calculating and national motive. He permitted the convention to be violated in the case of Ney, that he might after have a pretext to pass himself through the open breach, and plunder Paris of the



monuments which were protected by the same treaty. Napoleon made the same accusation in a codocil to his last will.

The Duke of Wellington was personally party to a case in which Dupin was the opposing counsel for the defence. It was the ludicrously famous trial of Cantillon and Martinet, for an attempted assassination of the British general in Paris. The attempt, which consisted merely in the firing of a pistol near the carriage of the Duke of Wellington as he returned to his hotel, was believed, or at least treated at the time, as having little existence except in imagination. The court report of one of the journals was headed constantly as follows:—"The pistol-shot fired with *or without a ball*, at *or near* the carriage of the Duke of Wellington." In fact, the bullet or its mark could be nowhere traced upon the equipage, to prove the mere *corpus delicti*. Nor was there a trace of evidence to implicate the prisoners, who were accordingly acquitted with applause. On the other hand, the animus of Paris, at that moment, against the general-in-chief of the allied forces of invasion, was such as well might cause the apprehensions even of a soldier to pass for realities. This spirit found expression in Dupin upon the trial. "I do not speak," said the caustic advocate, "of the good faith of the noble duke. I examine not his manner of observing capitulations," &c. In fine Napoleon himself betrayed this *animus*, in his distant exile of St. Helena, by bequeathing to the accused Cantillon the sum of ten thousand francs.

M. Dupin has some redeeming reminiscences of the English. He entitles one of the most interesting of his trials, "The Three Englishmen;" and they well deserved the honour he accords them. The escape from a capital prison of the Marquis de Lavalette, by the contrivance and substitution of his beautiful and high-souled wife,\* is known even popularly all the world over. But it is not perhaps known so generally, that its ultimate success was solely due to three Englishmen then staying at Paris. Lavalette, after quitting prison, had to take refuge in the city, it being impossible to brave the vigilance of the *Barrières*. Amid this vigilance, still further sharpened by the announcement of the escape, and amid the internal exploration of the city by the police, Lavalette was kept in hopeless trembling to his hiding place for weeks, when an appeal was made on his behalf to a British officer named Bruce. The proposition was conveyed in an anonymous note as follows: "Sir,

\* This celebrated woman died some weeks ago in Paris. After the shock inflicted on her delicate, although heroic organization, by the condemnation to death of her husband, and the reaction of his release by her, she continued in a state of mental imbecility. She was a niece of the Empress Josephine.

I have so much confidence in your honour that I will impart to you a secret which I could reveal but to you. M. de Lavalette is still in Paris; I place his life in your hands; you alone can save him."

Bruce was still in bed. He wondered and pondered, and at length replied to the bearer that he could not give an answer then, but if the writer would choose to meet him at a place and moment designated, he would give him his reflections on the subject. The interview took place at noon; Bruce promised to do his best; but he declined to be informed either of the name of the person who wrote him or of the hiding-place of Lavalette himself. This cool and cautious conduct would, independently of the name, announce infallibly that Bruce was born beyond the Tweed. Proceeding with the same prudent calculation to plan the rescue, he united with him two of his confidential comrades at Paris, namely Major-General Wilson, whose name stamps him as English, and Captain Hely Hutchinson, who as assuredly was Irish. Thus the three members of the British Union were represented in this noble action, although our author makes them all English indiscriminately. This, it may be noted, is a general usage of the French, who confound the three nations in their grotesque notion of the Anglo-Saxon; yet certainly the French themselves do not so widely differ from the Irish, as the Irish do from the English, and the Scotch do from both. This latter difference, however, was seized sagaciously or fortunately, by the mystic friend of Lavalette, in first addressing himself to Bruce. Had he commenced with making the proposal to the Irishman especially, the issue of the effort would have probably been different. As planned by Bruce, it proved completely successful; and, what is equally characteristic, while the perilous execution of smuggling Lavalette in open day, not merely out of Paris, but afterward, through a score of police stations on the way to the German frontier, was committed to the Englishman and to the Irishman, the "canny Scot," on certain plausible pretences, stayed in Paris. Thus the characters kept their places to the last, *qualis ab incepto*. They joined, however, on being prosecuted, in a common defence, and retained M. Dupin as their collective and only advocate. He brought them off triumphantly, in a trial, which he takes care to tell us, was, for the *éclat* and the auditory, without rival at the Paris bar.

The other generals or marshals on the same proscription list as Ney and Lavalette, and who figured among the clients of M. Dupin, were as follows: Marshals Moncey, Brune, the Marshals of France collectively in defence of their imperial titles; Generals Travot, Allix, Caulaincourt, Hullin, Paret de Morvan, and Lieutenant-

General Gilly. The *Memoirs* offer little respecting any of these trials that would be of interest to American readers. There is, however, in connexion with the last of these brave unfortunates, an anecdote that thrills the heart, and paints the peasantry of France, in their imperialist fidelity, amid the flush of the Restoration.

M. Dupin tells us that General Gilly, although a Catholic himself, "knowing the humanity of the Protestants," sought an asylum among them. He was received by a peasant of the commune of Anduze named Perrier, who had no other means of living than his daily labour. It was concerted that the general, whose name even was not asked, and of whom the family knew nothing but his peril and his misfortunes, should be disguised in peasant's garb and pass for a cousin of the cotter.

After several months spent in this retreat, which was not only poor, but perilous on account of the patrols which scoured the country by night and made exploratory visits to the dwellings, especially of the Protestants, the general got tired of life, and often murmured at his lot. One day Perrier, returning from the village of Anduze, undertook to console his guest and to cheer his spirits: "You complain," said he to the general, "but you are happy in comparison with those poor men whose heads I have heard cried this morning like meat in a market. For M. Brière, one of our ministers, a reward of two thousand francs; for M. Bress, an ex-mayor, two thousand four hundred francs; for General Gilly, ten thousand francs." "What!" replied the startled general, with anxiety. "Why, certainly," rejoined the peasant.

"We may judge," continues M. Dupin, "of the position of the general! However, he endeavoured to disguise his emotion; and to beguile the poor Perrier, whose fidelity he had the injustice to suspect, he assumed the air of reflecting for a moment, and then said: 'I am tired of the life I lead; I wish to be done with it. You yourself are poor, and you must desire to earn money. I know General Gilly, and where he is concealed; let us go and denounce him. For reward I will ask my liberty, and you will have to yourself the ten thousand francs.'

"At these words Perrier seemed as if thunderstruck and speechless. But all of a sudden, his eldest son, a young man of twenty-seven years, who had served in the 47th regiment of the line, and who had hitherto listened quietly to the conversation, seated by the fire, started up precipitately, and said to the general with threatening voice, and in language of which decency requires to mitigate the rustic energy: 'Monsieur, hitherto we thought that you were an honest man; but since you are one of those contemptible spies who sell the life of their neighbour, you see that door: get off at once or I will fling you out instantly at the window.' General Gilly remonstrated against leaving, he insisted; he wished to explain his intentions; but the soldier, instead of entering on explanations, seized the general with a vigorous arm and prepared to execute his threats. Then the general, seeing the urgency of the danger, exclaimed, 'Well, I myself am General Gilly!'

"It would be vain to try to paint the transports which these words excited in the whole family. The soldier leaped upon the neck of the general to embrace him; the father, the mother, the youngest of the children, clung around him to kiss his hands and his clothes. It is needless to add, they vowed to him that he might stay with them securely, and that they would all of them suffer death rather than reveal the secret.

"The general remained for some time after with these brave people. And what should be further noted to their praise, he found it quite impossible on leaving them to get them to accept the least indemnity for either the trouble or the expense which he had cost them. It was only a long time after that he succeeded in persuading them to profit, in another form, by his influence."

The Memoirs record a number of other clients no less conspicuous—ex-ministers such as Carnot; dukes as those of Rovigo, of Vincennes; poets like Beranger; priests like the Abbé de Pradt; professors, journalists, princes, and in fine, kings.

Among the priests we may note, as an example of the times, the affair of one Rebecqui, who, to legitimate his offspring begotten in defiance of his priestly vows before the Revolution, availed himself of the permission allowed the clergy by this new era, to enter into the state of matrimony, deemed *unholy* in the priests alone. The objection to the validity of this retroactive legitimation was the old rule that it could apply only to parties free from other obligations at the time of the conception, or *ex soluto et soluta*. M. Dupin attacked not only the objection but the axiom. He argued that in the case on which it principally rests, that of offspring begotten in adultery, the legitimation is debarred, *not* by the fact of the existence of a repugnant obligation in one of the parents at the time, but by an act of legislation that forbids perpetually the marriage, and thus precludes the normal *means* of the legitimation. Even in the case of incestuous children, the obstruction is the same; they cannot be legitimated; not because the parents are too near of kin, but because the law, for prudent reasons, forbids the necessary means—a marriage. But the law has equally the power, continued M. Dupin, to remove this prohibition of its own making, and much more clearly than individuals, such as the popes, who have often exercised it, in the shape of dispensations even to priests. Now a legal and universal dispensation of the clergy had been promulgated by the legislative body of the Revolution. The subsequent marriage of the priest Rebecqui had been consequently authorized. It therefore purged the stain of bastardy from the children.

The distinction in the old law maxim is remarkably shrewd and sound, and the deduction from the legal premises is manifestly cogent. But the advocate, it seems to us, slid out of view the consideration that the obstruction which affected priests before the marriage-law, and even after, was of a nature rather *religious* than

legal, like those compared with it, and had accordingly its origin in the Canon law, or in mere Church discipline. M. Dupin, however, gained his cause, and this, he does not fail to tell us, (of course from candid admiration, not a calculation of vain-glory,) notwithstanding that his opponent was the "most finished dialectician that he ever since encountered" in his long practice. But the tribunal was of the imperial date of 1809; had it been a few years later, no doubt the issue would have been different. In fact, another case of the same nature, (which follows next in the Memoirs,) save that the priest had here the children *after* marriage instead of before, was decided, in 1824, *against* the validity of the marriage; but this decision, through the irresistible intervention of M. Dupin, was overruled on the second trial by a higher court.

We pass over the other categories to reserve the remaining space for some curious incidents of the kingly clientship of Louis Philippe. We cannot, however, pass unnoticed a case more curious and romantic; the more especially as it serves as a fitting introduction to that royal personage.

The subject was the notorious *intrigante*, Maria Stella, *alias* Lady Newborough, *alias* Baroness de Sternberg, who amused the lovers of the marvellous and the scandalous in Europe from 1825 to 1830. This woman began life as a singer on the stage, whence she was taken into wedlock by Lord Newborough; for British noblemen had, until recently, like our American aristocracy, a strange alacrity to bite the hook of the battered votaries of Calliope. Maria Stella, in a second marriage, caught again a noble gudgeon, in the shape of the Baron de Sternberg, a Russian—a nation touching on the same predicament in point of cash and cultivation. Encouraged probably by these successes to aspire at least to French royalty, and having failed perhaps to catch a duke or even "count" of that less verdant race, she set to work according to a different and a more daring plan.

It was no less than to pretend that she was daughter of the Duchess of Chartres and of Philippe *Egalité*, Duke of Orleans; that on her birth, which took place in Tuscany, during a tour of her alleged parents under the names of the Count and Countess de Joinville, she had been exchanged by the prince her father, who had no sons and desired an heir, for the male infant of Lorenzo Chiappini, turnkey of the village prison, whose wife was delivered at the same time as the duchess; and that in fine the substitution had been made known to her by "revelations," as she was travelling with her second husband in Italy.

The direct result of the pretension was to proclaim that Louis

Philippe, then Duke of Orleans, was the low-born son of a *concierge*. The thing was countenanced, if not concocted, by the court party of the day, who were at daggers with the wily duke, then undermining his Bourbon cousins. It must be owned, too, there was something tending to encourage the imposture in both the character and the exterior of the subsequently citizen-king. The gait and countenance of Louis Philippe were as far as possible from royalty, and the craftiness of his government and the cowardice of his fall were less in character with the descendant of a line of kings than of a *concierge*. On the other hand, the retired singer pretended to a striking likeness with the Count de Beaujolais and Madame Adelaide of Orleans. However, Maria Stella had to find for the law some surer evidence than either party predispositions or personal appearance.

She returned then to Italy, and laid her case, as above stated, before the ecclesiastical tribunal of an obscure town of the Papal state. Her claim, being legally unopposed, was recorded without difficulty, her certificate of birth and baptism were rectified as she demanded, and she herself was declared "daughter of the Count and Countess de Joinville, French." Here then was a documentary foundation for her pretension. She transmitted it forthwith to an accomplice of hers in Paris, who entitled himself the Chevalier Mortara, directing that it should be laid at the feet of His Majesty Louis XVIII., and praying his majesty that Maria Stella be declared a princess of the house of Orleans.

Some scruples, or rather fears, being however still named by the court party, the chevalier consulted a lawyer. The man of law told him that, assuming the certificate to have been genuine, it was all very well as far as it went. The Baroness de Sternberg was verily declared the daughter of a count and a countess de Joinville; but there was nothing to evince the identity of this Count de Joinville with Louis Philippe (*Egalité*) of Orleans.

In addition to this legal stumbling block, the Baroness de Sternberg was thwarted still more seriously at the same moment from another quarter. Her brother, Thomas Chiappini, appeared against her in the newspapers, provoked no doubt by instigation of, or expectation from, Louis Philippe. He ridiculed and refuted her aspirations to nobility, insisted that she was his sister, affirmed that she claimed as such a part in the succession of their common father, and this, too, after the time when she pretended to have got the letter that revealed to her the royalty of her birth; and finally, as to her likeness to the family of Orleans, he declared that of all the children of Chiappini, she most resembled the *concierge*.



To make sure, however, of his ground, the Duke of Orleans put the matter into the hands of M. Dupin, already a member of his council. The learned jurist made a refutatory report on the case, of the merits of which he gives us an exposé in the Memoirs; but in conclusion he advised his princely client to keep quiet until the Baroness de Sternberg should proceed further. As was the hope, no doubt, she did not proceed further for some five years. But at the beginning of 1830, Maria Stella reappeared in a volume bearing the following captivating title: "*Maria Stella, or the Criminal Substitution of a Young Lady of the Highest Rank for a Boy of the most Abject Condition.*" The title-page announced besides: "Sold for the benefit of the poor in Paris and the Departments, at the principal booksellers." This was followed by a portrait, attempting a resemblance to the Princess Adelaide of Orleans; and underneath was read: "Maria Stella, Lady Newborough, Baroness Sternberg, née de Joinville."

The volume thus put forth in the most finished claptrap fashion, could not fail, even in France, to have a great *succès de curiosité*. But party interests moreover were concerned in the circulation. And the newspapers, the natural organs and habitual instruments of both those influences, gave it the *éclat* which they would deny, no doubt through ignorance, to books of merit. The public feelings thus excited, Maria Stella laid, in form, a requisition before the court of first resort of the Seine. The time was come, then, for the Duke of Orleans and his attorney to defend themselves.

Two courses of procedure were before them. The Duke of Orleans wished himself, or perhaps only feigned to wish, to address himself directly to the crown and the chamber of peers, for the political suppression of a case affecting the position and the honour of a peer of France, the first prince of the blood, and even an heir eventual to the throne; the other was the legal course of going before the civil tribunal. The latter was the one adopted, M. Dupin does not say why; but no doubt the reason was the known feelings of the Bourbons in the premises. The civil court, however, dismissed the case, though upon technical objections. And thus was terminated a proceeding, which, for boldness of conception and plausibility of prosecution, transcends the license of romance.

We can afford to add but little on the large portion of the Memoirs, which are devoted to the private business of Louis Philippe become king—affairs in which, in fact, Dupin has *figured* largely in every sense. The arithmetical recollections are the most exact and least egotistical.

Americans have often heard of the immense wealth of Louis

Philippe, and that his father, Philippe *Egalité*, while the most *sans-culotte* of democrats, was yet the richest of the princes of Europe; but they do not understand, perhaps, the source of this wealth. Exceeding that of even the royal branch of the house of Bourbon, it could not reasonably be supposed to have been given by the crown. It proceeded in fact from a curious concentration of inheritances, which, together with the unexpected elevation to the throne, might have well persuaded the Orleans family of their being the special care of fortune. And yet the luck-like preparation was but to show them to be its sport!

The patrimonial property or appanage of the House of Orleans was augmented in the hands of the father of Louis Philippe by the estates: 1st, of the Duchess de Guise; 2d, of Mademoiselle de Guise; 3d, of Mademoiselle de Montpensier; 4th, of the Duchess de Bourbon—representing three of the most powerful families of the kingdom. On the other side, the wife of the same Philippe of Orleans was only daughter of the great Duke of Penthièvre, and was through him the heiress of the following inheritances: 1st, of the Duke and the Duchess of Maine; 2d, of the Count and the Countess of Toulouse; 3d, of the Prince de Dombes; 4th, of the Count d'Eu; 5th, of the Prince de Lamballe—all of these being princely branches of the royal family of France, and two or three of them even legitimated sons of Louis XIV. Such then were the separate portions of the parents of Louis Philippe, which devolved jointly to himself and to his sole sister. And as the sister never married, her part continued in the family stock; which stock was finally piled up by the possessions of the House of Condé, left to a son of Louis Philippe, the Duke d'Aumale! With this enormous accumulation of domains and principalities in the possession of a single family aspiring to the throne, where is the kingdom or the empire that could maintain its existence?

It should be said, however, that this vast confluence of near a dozen princely fortunes, had suffered serious diminution before reaching the family of Louis Philippe. The Revolution swept it totally away for a time. At this epoch, the purchase value of the possessions of Philippe *Egalité* amounted to one hundred and twelve millions, and the annual income from feudal dues was no less than five to six millions. The latter item was abolished beyond recall. The territorial domains also had been confiscated at the time, and for the most part disposed of by the nation. But upon the Restoration in 1814, the unsold portion was returned to the heirs. The value of this residue was, M. Dupin says, less than twelve millions. Along with it was entailed also on Louis Philippe and his sister the

encumbrance of over thirty millions—the unpaid balance of their father's debts, which, at the time of the confiscation, had amounted to no less than seventy-four millions. His vast possessions were thus encumbered to more than half their value.

Louis Philippe might have declined to accept this inheritance of twelve millions, with an encumbrance of thirty millions, which of course rendered it insolvent. But, says his advocate, he and his sister conceived "the generous design of paying off with honour all the creditors." The design had more of policy, perhaps, than honour or generosity. Louis Philippe had an eye already upon the throne; and he well knew that an insolvent debtor, or even the son of the insolvent debtor, was held more infamous in Paris than a blasphemer or an adulterer. He accepted then the restitution, but *sous benefice d'inventaire*; that is to say, on the condition of being responsible to the creditors but for the sum which the inheritance would bring at public auction: so that this was quite a safe sacrifice to generosity and to honour. The property restored was accordingly put up for sale, and bid in by Louis Philippe himself at twelve and a half millions. This was at once applied to the payment of the debts, *pro rata*. The poorer were paid totally, says M. Dupin; remissions of interest and some reductions of principal were obtained from the more independent creditors. On the whole, it seems, all ended with being satisfied. But to effect this consummation, besides the produce of the public sale, Louis Philippe devoted yearly, we are told, three millions from his own appanage. So that besides the immense patrimony of his father as above sketched, it seems this personage had a vast appanage in his own right as prince of the blood!

There results, then, for the basis of the final state of the Orleans property: *first*, this appanage, of which the mere income could afford annually three millions, besides the regular expenditures of a prince; *secondly*, the vast domains of the re-purchase, bought for twelve millions; *thirdly*, a two-third portion of the vast inheritance of his mother, who died about the same time, bequeathing Louis Philippe and his sister one-third each of a territorial property yielding one and a half millions revenue, and valued in 1821 at over sixty millions; *fourthly*, five millions, accorded to the same pair, (whose portions always devolved alike to the common family fund,) in virtue of the law of indemnity passed in 1825 in behalf of those whose property was confiscated by the Revolution. It is further to be noted that these enormous properties are all rated at their current value some thirty years ago; a value that must have doubled in this rapidly progressive period. And it is a family possessed of

this incalculable mass of wealth that has been beggared by the ten millions of it sequestered by Louis Napoleon!

Moreover, we are persuaded that the foregoing summary inventory is, without mentioning the civil list and the "dotations," incomplete. It is, in large part, only indirectly that we have been able to extract those results from the tortuous statements of the advocate in the cause. A lawyer, with the best dispositions, is never candid or complete. From his habits of one-sidedness, he can present the simplest subject only in *section*, as it were, and never in its full scheme. But the dispositions of M. Dupin are, besides, avowedly apologetic. He carries this, indeed, so far as to invoke our sympathies for Louis Philippe, by the assurance that he left his palace on the fatal 24th of February, in such a state of destitution, that by the time he reached Versailles he had to borrow, poor man! the sum of three thousand francs before he could go further!

M. Dupin parades in detail the expenditures of Louis Philippe on palaces—his patronages, pensions, and a million a year in charity. It is true he has no documents to show these latter forms of disbursement; but, lawyer-like, he has instead of them a pretext for their absence, which, for the rest, is very probable and very characteristic. It is, that "all the papers, (according to the Report of a Committee appointed on the subject by the Provisional Government itself,) all the registers of assistance, all that could reveal the bounties of the king and of the royal family, and that could disclose the names of the obligees, (turned ingrates,) were burned on the night of the 24th of February, in the midst of the disorder that prevailed at the Tuileries." This is fortified and specialized by the ex-treasurer of the crown, in a publication which he made upon the sack of the Tuileries. "I remarked," says he, "toward midnight, that the flames appeared to issue from the spot which was allotted to my department. I learned the next morning the true cause. Fire had been set on purpose to four apartments underneath, serving as offices for the section of the cabinet of the king charged with the *distribution of charity*, and of which the archives which *certain persons* might have an interest in destroying, had been entirely consumed." These "certain persons" were of course *republicans*, as these alone attacked the palace.

However, we are quite willing to give Louis Philippe and his advocate the entire benefit of the destruction of their proofs. There is no doubt, in fact, that handsome sums were thus invested by the citizen king: the only question would relate to the intention, which is everything in judging of the merits of the individual, although in estimating his *actions* we should observe a dif-

ferent rule. However, to leave our readers in a state of feeling to decide impartially, we close with quoting the peroration of Dupin's pecuniary panegyric:—

"We see the Duke of Orleans," says he, "though receiving but the meagre wrecks of his paternal property, paying off its debts to an amount beyond the value of the principal. As *appanagistic* prince, he improves and ornaments the appanage; improvements which must turn to the profit of the state. As king, he uses like a king his civil list—employing a million a year in acts of charity and generosity; giving work in all directions to artisans and artists; restoring at great expense and with taste those royal palaces of which he owned himself but the splendid usufruct; augmenting, at an expense of nine millions, their sumptuous furniture; and above all, founding at Versailles that national museum, devoted, without distinction to "all the glories of France." In fine, as man we see him bear adversity, exile, and ruin, with the grandeur of a royal soul and the resignation of a *Christian* (!); uttering no complaint, nor mentioning his exile but merely to say, 'I had not deserved it.'"

This vindication of the pelf of the Orleanists will be doubtless followed, in the future volumes of the *Memoirs*, by a vindication of their politics. We may return to the subject, if the revelations should deserve it, when we shall also treat the character and famous *bons mots* of Dupin.

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### ART. III.—THE EASTERN WAR.

1. *A Visit to the Camp before Sevastopol.* By RICHARD C. M'CORMICK, Jr. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1855. 12mo., pp. 212.
2. *The Unholy Alliance: An American View of the War in the East.* By WILLIAM GILES DIX. "Christo et Cruci." New-York: Charles B. Norton. 1855. 12mo., pp. 257.
3. *A History of the War between Turkey and Russia, and Russia and the Allied Powers of England and France.* By GEORGE FOWLER. London: Sampson, Low, Son & Co. 1855. 12mo., pp. 328.

WE have placed these works at the head of this paper as a matter of form, rather than with the intention of subjecting them to a special review. They suggest our theme, but do not explore the ground we design to examine. The first is a narrative of observations made by the author during a six weeks' visit to the camp before Sevastopol, and a brief sojourn at Constantinople, written in a pleasant and sprightly style, but giving very little information beyond what may be culled from the newspaper press. The second is a declamatory harangue, without solid sense or argument, upon the invincibility of Russia, and the folly and wickedness of the alliance of

England and France for the protection of Turkey. It declares Sevastopol to be impregnable, and predicts the conquest of Constantinople by the Russians, and the total defeat and ruin of the Allies in the war. Events have already proved the declaration false; and as improbable, we opine, as the arrival of the Greek Calends is the fulfilment of the prediction. The last work mentioned above we have found useful in the preparation of this paper. It is an effort to present, in a concise form, the various events of the war up to the end of the year 1854, and is made up chiefly of public documents, and of extracts from the letters of the war correspondent of the London Times.

Though the remote cause of the present war must be sought far back amid the cherished traditions of Russia, and in the policy which for more than a century and a half has given tone and complexion to her councils, yet its immediate cause was apparently trivial and insignificant.

At Jerusalem stand certain sanctuaries and chapels on spots embalmed in a thousand cherished recollections. Among these are the localities of the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and particularly the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, a splendid work of art, built by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine. The possession of these places has always been coveted by Christians; and from the earliest ages of the Church they have been accustomed to visit the country trodden by the feet of the Saviour, and especially the city where he died for the redemption of the world. A desire to recover these "holy places" from the hands of the followers of Mohammed gave rise to the Crusades of the Middle Ages; and since that period, both the Greek and Latin Christians have enjoyed by treaty stipulations, certain rights of visitation and worship at the shrines erected on these localities.

In the year 1535 Francis I. was recognised as the protector of the Latin Christians; and in a treaty of that year, made with Selim I., their claim to the "holy places" was insisted on and agreed to. Two hundred years later, (1740,) by another treaty between the same nations, this claim was admitted and confirmed. The Greek Christians possessed the exclusive claim to some sanctuaries, and also insisted upon a joint occupancy of some of those most prized by the Latins. As the treaties to which we have referred did not define the rights of the parties, disputes frequently arose, and the Latin and Greek Christians were brought into collisions resulting in bloodshed and loss of life within the edifices so much revered by both. In 1757 open war existed between the rival Churches in Palestine. In 1808 the Holy Sepulchre was partially destroyed by



fire, and the Greeks obtained a firman from the Sultan, giving them authority to repair the edifice. After its restoration, on the authority of this firman or decree, the Greeks assumed additional rights and privileges, which led to fresh dissensions with the Latins, and finally caused such scandal, that, in 1819, the Russian and French governments interposed. The King of France claimed the right to protect pilgrims of the Romish faith by virtue of the title accorded to him by the Pope of "Most Christian King;" while the Czar of Russia, as "Patriarch of the Greek Church," a title which has descended to him from Peter the Great, claimed the right to protect pilgrims of the Greek Church. In order the better to adjust these differences, France and Russia each sent an envoy to Palestine; but the Greek Revolution in 1821 broke off the negotiations, and no further attention seems to have been given to the subject by France until 1836. In that year the Prince de Joinville having visited Jerusalem, the monks of the Latin faith appealed to him, and solicited his influence in procuring the restoration of the "keys of the holy places," of which the Greek monks had for a long time held possession. In consequence of his representations to his father, Louis Philippe, the French ambassador at the Porte was instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the Sultan, who issued a firman ordering the Greeks to surrender the keys to the Latins; but, through Russian influence, the governor of Jerusalem neglected to obey the firman. In 1847 fresh complaint was made by the Latin monks through the French ambassador. The cause of the complaint was a trivial one, and should have been dealt with, we think, by the police, or civil magistrate, rather than by the *corps diplomatique*. A silver star, which was suspended on the spot said to be exactly that of the Saviour's birth at Bethlehem, disappeared, and the Latin monks, through the French ambassador, accused the Greeks of having committed this sacrilegious larceny.

In 1850 Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador at the Porte, wrote thus to Lord Palmerston:—

"General Aupick has assured me that the matter in dispute is a mere matter of property and of express treaty stipulation. The immediate point of difference is the right of possession to certain portions of the Holy Church at Jerusalem. The Greeks are accused of having usurped property which belongs of right to the Roman Catholics, and of having purposely allowed the chapels, and particularly the monuments of Godfrey de Bouillon and of Guy de Lusignan, to go into decay."

As soon as this subject was brought to the notice of the Porte a commission of inquiry was ordered; but before the commissioners had completed their investigations, the Czar addressed an autograph

letter to the Sultan, demanding the strict maintenance of the religious privileges of the Greeks in Palestine. Greatly alarmed at the reception of this letter, the Sultan at once dissolved the commission, stultified himself by a series of contradictory edicts, greatly complicated the matter by granting what both parties asked, and, with the hope of pleasing all, consented to replace the missing star at his own cost, and restored the key of the Church of Bethlehem to the Latins.

In 1851 M. de Lavalette, having succeeded General Aupick as French minister at the Porte, engaged in the disputes about the "holy places" with great zeal, and earnestly pressed the Turkish government to grant certain additional privileges to the Roman Catholics. The Russian envoy, M. de Titoff, exhibited an equal interest in the subject, and took an early occasion to express to the Sultan his conviction that his master would permit no changes whatever to be made with respect to the possession of the sanctuaries at Jerusalem; whereupon M. de Lavalette gracefully yielded the point, and proposed to settle the dispute by granting to the Greeks the joint occupancy of the places in question. M. de Titoff accepted this proposal, so far as the places in controversy were concerned; but at the same time made a new demand for the joint occupation of some other sanctuaries which had hitherto been in the undisputed possession of the Latins. This new demand prevented any settlement of the questions at issue, and intrigue for a while took the place of discussion. The affair reached the surface again in February, 1852, when the Porte addressed a note to M. de Lavalette, politely promising certain future concessions, but at the same time expressly excluding the Roman Catholics from certain privileges granted to the Greeks. This gave great offence to the French ambassador, and very nearly produced an open rupture. Finding argument and expostulation of no avail, he intimated his intention of bringing up the French fleet to the Dardanelles if his demands were not conceded; while the Russian minister, on his part, with equal decision, threatened to leave Constantinople instantly, with every member of his mission, if the demands of Russia were not complied with.

At this juncture M. d'Ouzeroff succeeded M. de Titoff as Russian envoy at the Porte. His first act was peremptorily to require a firman granting the privileges, the bare intimation of which had given such great offence to the French ambassador; and, not satisfied with the substantial success of securing this point, he demanded that the Porte should proclaim his victory by having the firman publicly read in Jerusalem by an agent of the government. The Sultan, in no condition to refuse, despatched Alif Bey to Jerusalem for that

purpose; but the attitude assumed by the French minister terrified him, and he hesitated to finish the duty with which he had been charged. The French minister declared, that if the firman was promulgated, a French fleet should appear off Jaffa, and he even hinted at a French occupation of Jerusalem itself; "then," said he, "we shall have all the sanctuaries." This firmness on the part of the French minister prevented the promulgation of the firman in question. It would seem, however, that the French government did not entirely approve the peremptory diplomacy of M. de Lavalette; for he was recalled, and his place filled by the appointment of M. Benedotte. And though the Toulon squadron was ordered to sail for the Greek waters, to be prepared to sustain the Latin interests, yet the British ambassador wrote to his government that "the French were content with a part only of what they might have claimed."\* During the pendency of these disputes Russia again enlarged her demands. In addition to claiming a special supervision over the "holy places" in Jerusalem, she, in November, 1852, asserted her right to exercise a protectorate over the entire Greek Church throughout the dominions of the Sultan. Meanwhile "the Porte, under the pressure of these coercions, committed a series of lamentable contradictions."† But unqualified submission on the part of the Porte with the concession of France, did not satisfy the demands of Russia. On the 28th of February, 1853, Prince Menschikoff, accompanied by Count Dimitre Nesselrode as his secretary, arrived at Constantinople on a special mission. The prince was clothed with full powers as a plenipotentiary, on the pretence that the rank of *chargé d'affaires*, which M. d'Ouzeroff held, did not give him the authority which was required in the transaction of such grave affairs as were then pending. It was remarked that this embassy, from the first, was portentous of evil to the Porte, inasmuch as an officer was selected to conduct it who had been distinguished in the recent war with the Turks, and that his suite included a general officer and an admiral. The tranquillity of the Sublime Porte was greatly disturbed by the arrival of this embassy; and the course of the Russian ambassador, instead of dispelling the fears of the government, was well calculated to aggravate them. As though seeking a quarrel, he assumed an attitude of extreme arrogance, and gratuitously insulted Fuad Effendi, the minister for foreign affairs. His mission, though professedly of a conciliatory character, was calculated, and probably intended, to involve the Turkish government in serious difficulties; and in the language of the Sultan,

\* Vide Blue Book, vol. i, p. 18.

† Vide Col. Rose's despatch of March 7, 1852.

"to trample under foot the rights of the Porte, and the dignity and independence of the sovereign." Meanwhile Russia was making vast military preparations, which attracted the attention of both England and France; but those governments being assured that the designs of Russia were eminently pacific, continued to hope that matters might be amicably arranged.

The first communication of the Russian ambassador to the Porte was made on the 10th of March, and it embraced the following peremptory demands:—

"1. A firman concerning the key of the Church of Bethlehem, the restoration of the silver star, and the possession of certain sanctuaries.

"2. An order for the repair of the dome and other parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

"3. A *sened*, or convention guaranteeing the strict '*statu quo*' of the privileges of the Greek Church, and of the sanctuaries that are in possession of that faith exclusively, or in participation with other sects at Jerusalem."

These demands were all granted without hesitation by the Porte, and firmans to that effect were despatched to Prince Menschikoff without delay. Until this time Russia had perhaps asked for no more than had been conceded by the Ottoman government in former treaties;\* and though her demands had been made in a haughty and offensive manner, yet the Porte exhibited no ill-feeling or irritation. It was hoped by the Sultan, and by the foreign ministers who were interested spectators at Constantinople, that Russia would now be satisfied; but so far from this being the case, Prince Menschikoff presented another note, at a late hour of the same day on which these last concessions were made, demanding a *sened*, or convention having the force of a treaty, containing stipulations that "no change whatever should be made in the rights, privileges, and immunities which had been enjoyed or possessed '*ab antiquo*' by the Church, the pious institutions, and the clergy of the orthodox or Greek Church in the Ottoman states; and that all the rights and advantages conceded by the Turkish government to other Christian sects by treaty, convention, or special grant, shall be considered as belonging also to the Greek Church." To comprehend the effect of this last stipulation, it must be remembered that certain Christian congregations exist within the Ottoman dominions which are not immediately subject to the government. In more than one place the members of the Latin Church possess privileges by which, in virtue of ancient compacts, they are exempt from Turkish jurisdiction, and are subject only to superiors of their own. So that the terms of the *sened* demanded by Prince Menschikoff would

\* Blue Book, vol. ii, p. 235.

have surrendered to Russia the practical jurisdiction of more than three-fourths of the population of the Danubian provinces, and, indeed, the greater part of European Turkey itself.

It must be admitted that it was high time for the "sick man" to protest, and accordingly Rifat Pasha, the Sultan's foreign minister, in a very temperate way, informed Prince Menschikoff that his demands could not be complied with. Highly indignant, the latter proceeded at once to the palace and demanded an audience of the Sultan, who for some time had not quitted his apartments in consequence of the recent death of his mother, the Sultana Valide. And although Prince Menschikoff was informed that Mohammedan custom prevented the Sultan from complying with his wishes, yet he persisted in his demand, and after waiting three hours in an ante-room, he was finally shown into the imperial apartments. Abdul Medjid, though he had so far yielded to Russian obstinacy as to admit Prince Menschikoff to his presence, declined any conference with him. He civilly referred him to his ministers; and when the prince commenced an intemperate speech, the sudden interposition of a curtain between the Sultan and his visitor terminated the interview.

A great council or cabinet meeting was now convened by Redschid Pasha, who had superseded Rifat Pasha as foreign minister, to deliberate upon the Russian note; and, without a dissenting voice, Prince Menschikoff's demand was rejected. In communicating this rejection, a delay of four or five days was requested, with the hope that some satisfactory solution of the difficulty might be discovered.

The Russian minister graciously granted the Porte four days for deliberation, but at the same time still more complicated matters by a fresh "note." "It was not alone," he declared, "the spiritual privileges of the Greek clergy which Russia had determined to assert, but all the other rights, privileges, and immunities of those professing the orthodox faith, and of the clergy, dating from the most early times; that is to say, all the political privileges they might have enjoyed from the earliest ages."

While Prince Menschikoff was so pertinaciously bullying the Sultan in his own capital, Baron de Brunow, the Russian ambassador at the Court of St. James, informed the British government in the most explicit terms that "the emperor's desire and determination was to respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and that all the idle rumours to which the arrival of Prince Menschikoff in the Ottoman capital had given rise—the occupation of the Principalities, hostile and threatening language to the Porte, &c.—were not only exaggerated, but destitute even of any sort of foundation."

In the extremity to which his government had been driven, Redschid Pasha consulted the representatives of the foreign powers at Constantinople, and received from them the following reply:—

“The representatives of Great Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, in reply to the desire expressed by His Excellency, Redschid Pasha, to learn their views on the draft of a note presented by Prince Menschikoff, are of opinion that on a question which touches so nearly the liberty of action and sovereignty of His Majesty the Sultan, His Excellency Redschid Pasha is the best judge of the course which ought to be adopted, and they do not consider themselves authorized, in the present circumstances, to give any opinion on the subject.”

Left thus to their own resources, the Turkish government assembled the great council of the nation at the house of the Grand Vizier. After mature deliberation, and long and anxious debates, it was decided by a very large majority to refuse to comply with the demands of Russia. Overtures, however, for pacific arrangements accompanied the note which communicated this decision. These overtures were not entertained by Prince Menschikoff, who, on receiving the answer, at once sent in his final “note,” declaring that all further negotiations would be now useless, that his mission was at an end, and that nothing remained for him but to leave the Ottoman capital with the whole of his retinue. Redschid Pasha made some attempts to conciliate the Russian minister by private assurances of the friendly disposition of the Porte, and of their willingness to meet all the reasonable demands of the Czar; but his advances were met by the reply that it was too late, that his mission was at an end, and that the only duty that remained to him was to remove from the capital every person connected with his embassy. He however warned the Porte, in a supplementary parting “note,” that “any infraction of the *‘statu quo’* of the Oriental Church would be considered as a violation of existing treaties, and that such infraction would compel the Czar to have recourse to means which he desired at all times not to employ.” He regretted the resolution of the Porte, and especially that on so serious a question the Divan had been governed by the influence of foreigners. And in conclusion he expressed a hope that the Ottoman government would ultimately come to a better resolution, and one more agreeable to the benevolent intentions of the emperor his master.

On the 21st of May Prince Menschikoff left Constantinople with his embassy, and the subsequent consideration of the questions at issue was transferred from the Turkish capital to Vienna, where the representatives of the four powers afterward endeavoured to avert the pending rupture. A direct attempt was, however, made by



Count Nesselrode to intimidate the Porte by addressing an autograph letter to Redschid Pasha on the 31st of May, declaring that if the Russian demands were not at once complied with, the Russian troops would immediately cross the Turkish frontier, "not," he said, "to make war, but to secure a material guarantee for the rights claimed by the emperor." In reply, the Porte announced the promulgation of the "Hatti Sheriffe," confirming the rights, privileges, and immunities which the clergy and the Churches of the *Greek faith* had enjoyed "*ab antiquo*."

On the 12th of June Count Nesselrode addressed a long circular to the diplomatic agents of the Czar at the different foreign courts. This document was published in the "St. Petersburg Gazette," and we place extracts from it on the record, that the reader may compare the Russian descriptions of the demands of Prince Menschikoff with the real history of his mission, and form some estimate of the cool assurance, to use a mild expression, of this distinguished diplomatist.

"You are sufficiently aware," he says, "of the policy of the emperor to know that His Majesty does not aim at the ruin and destruction of the Ottoman Empire, which he himself on two occasions has saved from dissolution; but that on the contrary he has always regarded the existing *status quo* as the best possible combination to interpose between all the European interests, which would necessarily clash in the East if a void were declared. The mission of Prince Menschikoff never had any other object than the arrangement of the affair of the holy places."

The Emperor of Russia having solemnly declared, on the 30th of May, that if the ultimatum of Prince Menschikoff was not accepted within eight days he would occupy the Principalities, the allied fleets were ordered to repair to Besika Bay, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, where they anchored on the 15th of June, 1853. On the 26th of the same month the Czar issued the following manifesto, in which he gives his own version of the causes of the war, and his reason for occupying the Danubian provinces:—

"PETERHOFF, June 14, 1853.

"It is known to our faithful subjects that the defence of our faith has always been the sacred duty of our ancestors. From the day that it pleased the Almighty to place us on the throne of our fathers, the maintenance of the holy obligations with which it is inseparably connected has been the object of our earliest care and attention. These, acting on the groundwork of the famous treaty of Kiarnardji, which subsequent treaties with the Ottoman Porte have fully confirmed, have ever been directed to upholding the rights of our Church. All our efforts to prevent the Porte from continuing in this course proved fruitless, and even the oath of the Sultan himself solemnly given to us was perfidiously broken. Having exhausted all means of conviction, and having in vain tried all the means by which our just claims could be possibly

adjusted, we have deemed it indispensable to move our armies into the provinces on the Danube, in order that the Porte may see to what her stubbornness may lead.

"But even now we have no intention of commencing war. In occupying these provinces we wish to hold a sufficient pledge to guarantee for ourselves the reestablishment of our rights, under any circumstances whatever.

"We do not seek for conquests. Russia does not require them. We seek the justification of those rights which have been so openly violated. We are still ready to stop the movement of our troops, if the Ottoman Porte will bind itself to observe solemnly the inviolability of the orthodox (Pravoslavan) Church; but if, from stubbornness and blindness, it decrees the contrary, then, calling God to our aid, we shall leave him to decide between us, and, with a full assurance in the arm of the Almighty, we shall go forth to fight for the orthodox faith."

On the twelfth of July Count Nesselrode issued another circular to the Russian representatives at foreign courts, in which he attempted to show that Russia was only acting on the defensive, and that the occupation of the Principalities was justified by the threatening demonstration of the Allies in sending their fleets to Besika Bay. "The position," he says, "taken up by the two powers in the ports and waters of the Ottoman Empire, within sight of the capital, is a species of maritime occupation which gives Russia occasion to restore the balance between their relative situations by taking up a military position."

But this is plainly an afterthought; the intention of occupying the Principalities in a certain contingency was officially announced in the Russian capital on the thirtieth of May, and the Allies decided, two days afterward, to despatch their naval forces to Besika Bay; but this intention of the allied powers could not have been known at St. Petersburg until nearly ten days after the Russian decision respecting the Principalities had been formally declared to the Ottoman Porte. While Russia was thus endeavouring to convince the different cabinets of Europe of her pacific intentions, she was rapidly and silently concentrating an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men on the Pruth, and the first corps, under the command of General Luders, passed that river at Levad on the twenty-first of June, and seven days afterward the entire army of occupation, under the command of Prince Michael Gortschakoff, had entered the Principalities.

That this movement on the part of Russia was an infraction of the treaties of Adrianople and Balta Liman cannot admit of a doubt.

It must be confessed that the relation in which the Principalities stood to both Russia and Turkey was peculiar and unprecedented. To Turkey was guaranteed the prerogative of sovereignty; and

Russia had, with her, a right to a sort of joint occupancy under certain clearly-described circumstances, while the people possessed many of the privileges of self-government. These apparently conflicting and irreconcilable stipulations are contained in the fifth article of the treaty of Adrianople, which declares that "the Principalities, being placed under the *suzeraineté* of the Porte, shall possess all the privileges and immunities which shall have been accorded to them, whether by treaties between the two imperial courts, or by 'Hatti Sheriffes' promulgated at different epochs, and that they shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion in perfect security; a national and independent administration, and complete freedom of commerce." The treaty of Adrianople was ratified in 1828; and in 1849 the convention or treaty of Balta Liman, fixing the cases in which a mutual occupation of the Principalities could legally take place, was negotiated and signed.

By the stipulations of this treaty nothing but "grave events occurring in the Principalities themselves" can justify the interposition of either power. And when the necessity shall have arisen, the treaty stipulates that the occupation shall be a mutual one, and shall be made simultaneously by Russia and Turkey. It is, moreover, expressly provided that the maximum number of troops that shall be sent into the Principalities "shall not exceed thirty-five thousand men on each side, to be regularly counted, regiment by regiment, and battalion by battalion." By "grave events" is meant any serious difficulty occurring within the described territory which might prove too formidable to be controlled without foreign assistance. But at the moment when Russia chose to cross the frontier, no disturbance of any kind furnished a pretext for the movement. Hence Turkey protested against the invasion of a territory secured by treaty, and persisted in refusing to treat with Russia until her armies were withdrawn.

The Turkish protest had no effect whatever on the Russian government; on the contrary, Prince Gortschakoff proceeded to establish himself in the Principalities, and to sever entirely their connexion with the Porte. Still, though the tribute due the Sultan was stopped and turned into the Russian military chest, and the Hospodars appointed by the Porte were driven out of the country, Russia continued to declare that her occupation of the Danubian Principalities was not intended as a declaration of war.

This affirmation of the Czar encouraged the allied powers seriously to occupy themselves in the attempt to avert the threatened conflict. As early as the twenty-fourth of June the French government had proposed the plan of settlement on which was afterward based the

celebrated "Vienna note," but the conference did not assemble until a month later. On the twenty-fourth of July, however, the representatives of the four powers, France, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, met at Vienna, and proceeded to discuss propositions to be submitted to Russia and Turkey. In this conference, it will be observed, Russia was represented but Turkey was not. A few hours were spent in drawing up the terms of settlement, which were then transmitted to London and Paris by telegraph. The assent of France and England was immediately given, and, with their signatures appended, the terms were transmitted to St. Petersburg, where, without hesitation, they received the approval of the Czar. In signifying his approval, however, the Czar stated to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg "that he would accept the terms recommended to him by the conference of Vienna if the Porte would accept the note such as it stands, *sans variation*, and that he would then receive the Ottoman ambassador."

The signature of the Porte was now all that was needed to secure the pacific settlement of the difficulties between Russia and Turkey, and the document was forwarded for that purpose; but, to the utter astonishment of all parties except perhaps of Austria and Russia, the Porte refused to accept the note unless certain alterations were introduced into the form of it. This determination was announced to the representatives of the "powers" at Constantinople by Redschid Pasha on the twentieth of August, expressing the regret of the Sultan that the Vienna note "should contain certain superfluous paragraphs incompatible with the sacred rights of the government of His Majesty." "The note as it now stands," said the Pasha, "seems to us to be open to certain interpretations not intended by the powers, but against which we think it necessary to guard more distinctly. With this view we propose certain alterations in the wording of the note; if these be admitted we are willing to adopt it."

It is somewhat surprising to discover in this "note," under the flimsy disguise of words, the same stipulations in substance which occasioned the rejection of Prince Menschikoff's ultimatum. This doubtless escaped the penetration of the Vienna diplomatists, who, it must be admitted, were guilty of a great political blunder in adopting a note capable of different and conflicting interpretations. The ministers of the Sultan perceived at once that it could be construed in a manner highly injurious to the Porte, and the four powers were frank enough to confess that their objections to it were well founded.

The modifications suggested by the Porte were not, however,

acceptable to the Czar; and on the receipt of his answer, giving notice of their rejection, nothing remained for the western powers but to abandon the note which had been drawn with such studied care. The Vienna conference, however, continued in session, and its members laboured assiduously to reach some harmonious conclusion; and on the twenty-second of November the Austrian and Prussian governments agreed with those of England and France upon a basis for negotiation, and a collective note to the following effect was drawn up and signed by the four powers:—

“The existence of Turkey in the limits assigned to her by treaty is one of the necessary conditions of the balance of power in Europe, and the undersigned plenipotentiaries record with satisfaction that the existing war cannot, in any case, lead to modifications in the territorial boundaries of the two empires which might be calculated to alter the state of possession in the East which has been established for a length of time, and which is equally necessary for the tranquillity of all the other powers.”

A careful attention to the points actually in issue between Russia and Turkey will convince the impartial observer that the former government from the first aimed not to preserve rights already possessed, but to enlarge her power by extending her control over several millions of the subjects of the Porte.

The “Vienna note,” accepted so readily by the Czar, contained this passage:—

“That the Sultan would cause the Greek Christians to participate equally in the advantages granted or hereafter to be granted to other Christians by conventions or special ordinances.”

The modifications required by the Sultan were as follows:—

“That the Sultan would make the Greek Christians participate equitably in the advantages granted to other Christian communities, *being Ottoman subjects.*”

The fact already stated, that in many places in Turkey the followers of the Latin Church, by virtue of ancient compacts, are exempt from Turkish control, and are governed by superiors of their own, shows the vital importance of this modification. The members of the “Vienna Conference” readily admitted the justness and importance of the objections made to their note by the Porte, and, having approved the modifications suggested, they earnestly, though vainly, pressed their acceptance upon the emperor of Russia.

Meanwhile both Russia and Turkey were preparing to submit their disputes to the arbitrament of the sword. The Russians occupied the Principalities, and the Turkish forces, under Omar Pasha, had advanced to the right bank of the Danube, so that an encounter was apprehended, although war had not been formally declared by either party.

Such, however, was the wild enthusiasm awakened among the subjects of the Porte by the Russian invasion, that, to prevent an insurrection in Constantinople, the Sultan was literally compelled to declare war; and the declaration agreed to by the grand council was signed on the twenty-seventh of September, and published by manifesto on the third of October, announcing the declaration of war against Russia in case the Principalities were not evacuated by the twenty-fourth of that month. Still, however, confident hopes were entertained by the western powers, and by the civilized world, that war would yet be avoided.

Meanwhile Omar Pasha had summoned Prince Gortschakoff to evacuate the provinces within fifteen days, solemnly assuring him that noncompliance would lead to the commencement of hostilities. To this letter Prince Gortschakoff replied as follows:—

“My master is not at war with Turkey; but I have orders not to leave the Principalities until the Porte shall have given to the emperor the moral satisfaction he demands. When this point is obtained I will evacuate the Principalities immediately, whatever the time or season. If I am attacked by the Turkish army I shall confine myself to the defensive.”

On the eleventh of November the Czar published a formal declaration of war against Turkey, in which he speaks, with well-affected severity, of the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman government, and magnifies his own legitimate solicitude for the defence of the orthodox faith in the East, as well as his spirit of long-suffering under manifold provocations. This proclamation was followed by active hostilities between the belligerents, and by the arrival of the allied fleets in the Black Sea; but before any important operations had taken place, the allied powers made one more vain effort to avert the war by submitting the terms of the Porte as an ultimatum to Russia.

It is foreign from our purpose to describe particularly the events of the campaign on the Danube; it is sufficient to say that it was conducted with skill on the part of the Turks, and that it terminated to their advantage. Under the command of the experienced Omar Pasha the Ottoman army finally drove the Russian forces beyond the Pruth. The Turkish squadron also took the initiative in the Black Sea, and commenced offensive operations by attacking Fort St. Nicholas, between Batoun and Poti, which they captured after a vigorous defence. At Sinope the Turks were less successful, suffering a disastrous defeat, with the loss of several vessels and many lives, in an attempt to defend the harbour and town against a Russian squadron of greatly superior force.

Up to this period the Allies had taken no active part in the war.



The object with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia, but to defend Turkey; and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack. And in order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters as that at Sinope, the fleets were ordered to enter the Black Sea, and require, and if necessary compel, Russian ships of war to return to Sevastopol or the nearest port. The Ottoman Porte seemed inclined, even after the affair at Sinope, to renew negotiations through the allied powers, and the latter still continued indefatigable in their efforts for the restoration of peace.

For this end the representatives of the four powers signed a convention, in which they recorded their own complete union of purpose in maintaining the territorial limits of the Ottoman Empire and the sovereignty of the Porte. A "note," framed in accordance with these views, was accepted by the Porte, but rejected by the Czar, who declared that he would allow of no mediation between himself and Turkey: that Turkey, if she wished to treat, might send an ambassador to St. Petersburg. He now insisted upon conditions which amounted to a considerable increase on those demanded by Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople.

During the protracted but abortive attempts at negotiation, the conduct of Austria was sufficiently equivocal. At one time the Austrian minister did not hesitate to declare that the protocols which had been drawn up by England and France, at Count Buol's request, were the true basis of the conditions which they would accept, and that his master, the emperor, would adhere to those conditions even at the hazard of war. Yet when Count Orloff left Vienna on the fourth of February, he carried with him the assurance that in the coming struggle the neutrality of both Austria and Prussia might be relied upon. Austria subsequently inquired of the Russian cabinet whether they would object to a European protectorate over the Christians in Turkey. The reply, couched in the most positive terms, was that "Russia would permit no other power to meddle in the affairs of the Greek Church. Russia had treaties with the Porte, and would settle the question with her alone." From the tone and terms of the reply it was inferred that the Czar would consent to no treaty which did not secure to him everything, and more than everything, which had been demanded by Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople. The next step in the negotiations was the presentation of a "Turkish note" of settlement to the "Vienna Conference" on the thirteenth of January. This note

was, after a brief deliberation, approved of, and forwarded at once to St. Petersburg; but it does not appear that the Czar deigned to honour it with a reply. A few days afterward the emperor of France sent an autograph letter to the Czar, to which the Czar replied in substance that the conditions made known at the conference of Vienna were the sole basis on which he would consent to treat. Four days after this reply was received (on the twenty-eighth of February) the governments of France and England resolved to address a formal summons to the Czar, calling upon him to give, in six days, a solemn promise that he would cause his troops to evacuate the Principalities of the Danube on or before the thirtieth of April.

This decisive step was, perhaps, hastened by the dismissal of the English and French ambassadors from the Court of Russia, the former of whom left St. Petersburg on the eighteenth, and the latter on the twenty-first of February. The St. Petersburg Journal, noticing the departure of the two ambassadors, remarks: "The emperor, having declared the line pursued by the two western powers to be a severe blow aimed at the rights of the Czar in his character as a belligerent sovereign, has thought it right to protest against their acts of aggression, and to suspend diplomatic relations with England and France."

On the eleventh of March the Baltic fleet sailed from Spithead, under the command of Admiral Sir Charles Napier; and on the next day a treaty was concluded between England, France, and the Porte, containing the following stipulations, viz. :—

"1. France and England engage to support Turkey by force of arms until the conclusion of a peace which shall secure the integrity and independence of the Sultan's rights and dominions;

"2. The Porte engages not to conclude peace without the consent of her allies;

"3. The allied powers promise to evacuate, after the termination of the war and at the request of the Porte, all those parts of the empire which they may find it necessary to occupy during the continuance of hostilities; and,

"4. All the subjects of the Porte, without distinction of creed, are secured complete equality before the law."

This treaty, signed by England, France, and Turkey, remained open for the acceptance of the other great powers.

An Anglo-French ultimatum was now forwarded to St. Petersburg, in reply to which the Czar is reported to have said that the terms proposed did not require five minutes' consideration, and that, rather than submit to such conditions, he would sacrifice his last soldier and spend his last rouble. The reply of Count Nesselrode, however, was that "no answer would be given by the imperial court."

The messenger bearing this answer reached London on the twenty-fifth of March, and on the twenty-eighth of that month war was declared against Russia by England and France simultaneously. Russia responded by a counter declaration of war against England and France three days afterward.

Immediately upon the declaration of war by the Allies they both embarked large bodies of troops for the East, and early in the month of April ten thousand British troops were cantoned near Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, while twenty thousand French soldiers took up their quarters on the opposite side. The principal encampment of the Allies was subsequently established at Varna, where not less than forty-thousand men were kept inactive, decimated by cholera and other diseases, while Omar Pasha, within a few days' easy march, was gallantly driving the Russian forces out of the Principalities.

On the eighteenth of April a new convention was formed between the governments of England and France, in which the object of the two courts is stated to be "the reestablishment of peace between the Czar and the Sultan on a firm basis, and the preservation of Europe from the dangers which have disturbed the general peace." "The Allies distinctly disclaim all exclusive advantages to themselves from the events which may arise, and they invite the rest of Europe to coöperate with them in an alliance dictated only by a regard for the interests of all."

Justice requires us to say that Russia was equally disinterested in her professions. In the declaration of war by Russia the following language is employed:—

"The desire of possessing Constantinople, if that empire should fall, and the intention of forming a permanent establishment there have been too publicly, too solemnly disowned for any doubts to be entertained on that subject, which do not originate in a distrust that nothing can cure.

"It is to defend the influence not less necessary to the Russian nation than it is essential to the order and security of other states,—it is to sustain the dignity and territorial independence, which are the basis of it, that the emperor, obliged in spite of himself to embark in this contest, is about to employ all the means of resistance that are furnished by the devotion and patriotism of his people."—*St. Petersburg Journal*, March 30, 1854.

In the latter part of June a large force, consisting of ten thousand French troops, under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, sailed in British vessels from the northern ports of France to cooperate with Sir Charles Napier in the Baltic. The allied squadron blockaded the Russian ports and captured Bomarsund, on the island of Aland; but, upon the whole, failed to verify the expectations of the people of England and France. Meanwhile the war

was vigorously pursued against the Russians in Asia Minor by the indefatigable chief Schamyl, who had gathered under his banner eighty thousand warriors.

The period had now arrived when the inactivity of the Allies was to give place to a decisive aggressive movement; and in a council of war, held at Varna by the English and French general officers on the 26th of August, the expedition to the Crimea was decided upon.

Previous to the eastern war but little accurate knowledge was possessed by the inhabitants of modern Europe with respect to the Crimea or its resources. This peninsula was, however, well known to the ancients. During the most prosperous days of Greece it was the storehouse of Athens, whither it exported large quantities of grain.\* At that period it was under the government of a line of princes known as the Kings of the Bosphorus, and for ages afterward its inhabitants were distinguished for their intelligence and refinement, and for their progress in the arts. The museums of Caffa, Nikolaieff, and Odessa, contain numerous remains of antiquity, illustrative of the advanced condition of its ancient inhabitants. At Inkermann, Balaklava, and other places, evidences exist to show that the Genoese, during their commercial supremacy, explored the Euxine, and planted colonies in the Crimea. Theodosia, or Caffa, was at that time a great entrepot for the commerce with interior Asia. The route to China was from Azof to Astrakan, and thence through various places not found in modern maps to "Cambalu," which is thought to be the modern Pekin.† The Venetians had also a settlement in the Crimea, and appear, by a passage in Petrarch's Letters, to have possessed some of the trade through Tartary. Under the Tartar government, this peninsula was at one time covered with many flourishing cities. In 1740 the Russians first entered the Crimea. In that year the lines of Perekop were forced by Count de Munich, and the country was wasted by fire and sword; but upon the termination of the war it was restored to the Turks. In 1772 Perekop was again taken by Russia, and, by the treaty of Kiarnardji, the Crimea was finally severed from the Turkish Empire. This country has always been highly prized by the Russian government, being considered by her rulers and statesmen as the gateway through which Constantinople was finally to be approached. The famous inscription at Kherson, "This way leads to Byzantium," which so much delighted the Czarina Catharine II. upon her visit to that part of her dominions, was understood to indicate the route by Perekop and Sevastopol as the most ready avenue of approach to the long desired goal. The preëminent importance attached to

\* Strabo.

† Hallam.

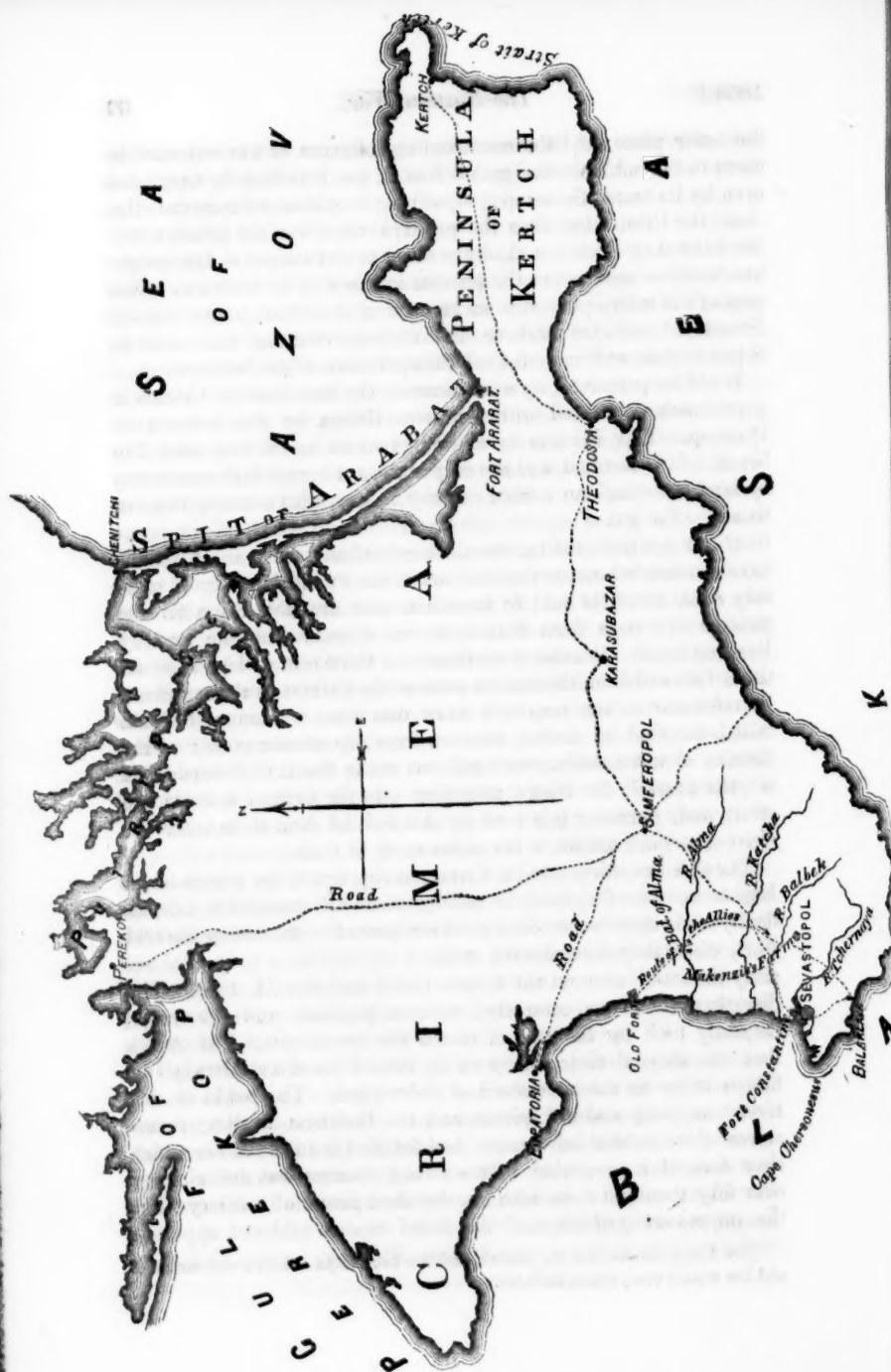
the latter place, and the commanding influence it was expected to exert in the ultimate designs of Russia, are significantly suggested even by its name, Sevastopol, signifying Augustan, or imperial city.

As the Crimea has been the principal theatre of the present war, the interest of which has chiefly centred at Sevastopol and its neighbourhood, we accompany the present article with an accurate outline map of the entire peninsula, and a section on a much larger scale of Sevastopol, with its harbour and vicinity, enabling the reader to obtain a clear understanding of the operations of the belligerents.

It will be perceived, by a reference to the map, that the Crimea is a peninsula connected with Southern Russia by the isthmus of Perekop. This isthmus is about seventeen miles long and five broad. It is fortified, and the only ingress or egress to the peninsula by land is through an arched gateway in a rampart running from sea to sea. To guard against the inconveniences which might occur from this position passing into the hands of an enemy, the Russians have constructed across the shallows of the Putrid Sea a great military road, which is said to furnish a more available route for the passage of troops from Russia to the Crimea than the road by Perekop itself. Besides these there is a third route, which is sometimes followed from the eastern parts of the Crimea to the continent. A reference to the map will show that a narrow tongue of land, called the Spit of Arabat, runs up from the eastern corner of the Crimea, almost touching the continent at the Strait of Genitchi. It is quite possible for troops marching into the Crimea to cross the strait, and, pursuing this road by the Spit of Arabat, to enter the Crimea at Fort Arabat, a few miles north of Caffa.

The allied expedition to the Crimea having first taken possession of Eupatoria, where they landed a small garrison and established a depot, finally made their descent at a point designated on the map as the Old Fort, where they disembarked, without opposition, a body of about sixty thousand men, on the morning of September 14, 1854. The disembarkation was completed without accident, and the troops instantly took up the line of march for Sevastopol. The Allies first encountered their enemy on the line of the river Alma, about fifteen miles to the northward of Sevastopol. The banks of this river \* are lofty and precipitous, and the Russians, availing themselves of its natural advantages, had fortified it in a manner which they deemed impregnable. This strong position was defended by over fifty thousand men, with one hundred pieces of artillery; but the impetuous gallantry of the allied troops achieved apparent

\* The Alma, the Katcha, the Belbek, and the Tchernaya are all small streams, and are nearly everywhere fordable.





impossibilities, and in three hours the position was forced, and the battle of the Alma won, with a loss to the Russians in killed and wounded of eight thousand men, and to the Allies of nearly half that number. Two days after the battle of the Alma the allied troops resumed their march; and on the afternoon of the same day crossed the Katcha, another small river running parallel to the Alma. The passage of neither the Katcha nor the Belbek was opposed by the Russians; and on Sunday, the 24th of September, the Allies took up a position about a mile and a half in advance of the latter stream.

On Monday morning a reconnoissance was made toward Inkermann, with the view of finding a practicable crossing for the army over the Tchernaya, and the marshy ground on its banks; but the officer by whom it was conducted reported that he could only find a causeway over the morass, and a bridge over the river, with a strong force on the opposite side.

Up to this period it had been the intention of the allied commanders to attack Sevastopol on the north side of the harbour. But in consequence of its difficult approach, and the immense labour of bringing up their siege train by the route pursued by the army, it was determined to make the harbour of Balaklava and some of the small bays that indent the coast near Cape Chersonesus, places of rendezvous for the fleet and depots for supplies. In pursuance of this determination, the army followed the route indicated upon the map, by way of Mackenzie's Farm, and arrived, on the 27th of September, at Balaklava. At Mackenzie's Farm, on the route, Field Marshal St. Arnaud issued his last order, in which he took formal leave of his troops, and resigned his command to General Canrobert.

As it is our aim to give a connected account of the events of the war in the fewest possible words, we avoid all attempts to describe the battles which occurred, and also reluctantly omit many interesting anecdotes connected with them.

On the 28th of September, the second and third divisions of the British army moved up to the heights above Sevastopol, where they encamped.\* The engineers and artillery men proceeded at once to land the siege-guns, and on the 29th some of them had already been dragged up the heights and temporarily placed in a field in the rear of the position occupied by the troops. The French took up their position† near the sea, having selected as their base of operations the three deep bays lying between Cape Chersonesus and Sevastopol, where they had the advantage of disembarking their siege train nearer the scene of action.

\* Just in the rear of the point marked "English Attack" on the map.

† Vide "French Attack," on the map.



The forces of the Allies, when in position, extended from the mouth of the Tchernaya to the sea south of Sevastopol, forming a semi-circle at the distance of about two miles from the enemy's works. The fire from the trenches opened on the morning of the 17th of October, and continued with slight intermissions until the 25th, on which day the British line of communication was attacked by General Liprandi, and the battle of Balaklava was fought, in which, though the Russians were repulsed, the British lost many men, and their cavalry especially were very roughly handled. On the fifth of November a most determined assault was made by the Russians on the right flank of the besiegers. The attack resulted in what is known as the battle of Inkermann, in which the Russians were defeated with the loss of ten thousand men, while the Allies had near four thousand killed and wounded.

The attack and defence were conducted during the winter with equal obstinacy, though the Allies, and particularly the English, suffered exceedingly from the severity of the weather, and the want of necessary supplies. The ordinary routine of siege duty was steadily pursued for nearly twelve months, relieved by occasional sallies and assaults, which had no decisive result, until the last desperate attempt of the Russians to raise the siege by attacking the line of the Tchernaya, speedily followed by the successful assault and capture of the place itself.

The unexpected duration of the siege of Sevastopol has astonished the world, and given rise to many strange speculations, and the promulgation of many marvellous opinions. Russian sympathizers have discerned in it the evidence of Russian superiority in combat, and unparalleled skill in engineering. Many crude opinions, too,

have been hazarded with regard to the mysterious nature of "earthworks," as though these were some Muscovite discovery in the art of military engineering, which would entirely revolutionize the science of attack and defence of fortified places. Quackery is not confined to professors of the healing art. We may, however, safely assume that there are not many secrets in the science of medicine or of war. Wise men in both professions laugh at such pretensions. We venture the opinion that the siege of Sevastopol was protracted, not because of the unparalleled skill of its defenders, much less of new discoveries which they had made in the art of defence, but solely because the besiegers neglected some of the very first principles laid down by the great instructors in the Art of War.

Marshal Vauban, the highest authority on this subject with military men, says, in his "*Attaque des Places*," "The success of the assailants will depend upon several things." 1. "The investment of the place." 2. "On the amount of force we can bring to the attack. In attacking a fortified place the besieging force should be at least five times as numerous as the garrison." 3. "On the superiority of the besiegers in artillery. \* \* \* After the investment, the next step is to subdue the artillery of the place." Now all these alleged necessary conditions of success seem to have been totally disregarded by the Allies. Sevastopol has not been "*invested*" to this day. From the day the trenches were opened to the hour of its fall, it was open to the north, and in uninterrupted communication with the Russian army in the field. The required superiority in the besieging force was never possessed by the Allies, for, from the most reliable accounts, they have never had, at the most, more than a bare equality of numbers. The old marshal's third condition has been equally disregarded. "To subdue the artillery of the place," is held to be a *sine qua non* by military men, which, if neglected, can only be atoned for by the sacrifice of men. But if the reports from the Crimea may be relied upon, Sevastopol has constantly been superior to its assailants in both the number and calibre of its guns.

Vauban makes the success of an attack depend on several other things; but those mentioned are sufficient to show that the protracted defence of Sevastopol may be accounted for without assuming any remarkable discoveries in engineering on the part of General Todleben, or any special virtues in the "earthworks" thrown up under his direction. "Earthworks" are simply ramparts of earth thrown up to furnish an extempore protection when time is wanted to erect more durable defences; and, so far from being novelties, they were doubtless the earliest method resorted to, to strengthen a position threatened by an enemy.

Viewing this affair in all its aspects, aided by all the information we have obtained, we are compelled to regard the capture of Sevastopol as the most wonderful achievement of its character recorded in the history of war. Places of equal or superior strength have been taken by surprise, or reduced by rigid investment; but we know of no place of equal strength which has ever been captured by regular siege, when unlimited supplies of munitions and men could be thrown into it at pleasure. We are immeasurably surprised that, under the circumstances, the place was ever taken, or that the Russians, after the experience of the last twelve months, and especially of the impressive lesson taught by the final assault, should cherish the hope of successfully contending with the Allies in the open field, when, with all the advantages of equal or superior forces at hand, and abundant *materiel* at command, they have been unable to defend such fortifications as surrounded Sevastopol.

With regard to the conduct of the war, should it continue, it is neither easy nor prudent to speak, when predictions may be so swiftly contradicted by events. But at the present date, (November 1,) we cannot doubt that the Allies will operate upon the left flank and rear of the Russian army in the Crimea, and that not only Sevastopol north of the harbour will fall without a blow, but that the power of Russia in the Crimea will be broken, and her army disorganized and destroyed. Both the land and naval forces of the Allies, which, since the fall of Sevastopol, may be employed elsewhere, are already operating against other important positions within striking distance; and there can be little doubt that Kherson and Nikolaieff will receive their early attention. The former contains over one hundred thousand inhabitants, according to some authorities, and is an important naval station. At its magnificent dock-yards the greater part of the late Black Sea fleet was built. The latter is comparatively a new city, but it is the seat of an admiralty, and a point of considerable political importance. Odessa is also an accessible point, which must be strongly garrisoned to preserve it from the grasp of the Allies. The conflict must, at least for a period, be carried on greatly to the disadvantage of the Russians. Having the entire command of the sea, with abundant facilities for transportation, the Allies can select their own point of attack, at which they may rapidly concentrate an overwhelming force, while the necessity of defending so many exposed positions must make the Russians weak at any given point, and expose them to successive assault and defeat. Unless, therefore, we adopt the incredible supposition that Russia is capable of raising and supporting an army numerous enough to garrison each of her exposed positions with a force strong enough to

repel the concentrated strength of the Allies, we see not how the war can be carried on to her advantage. She must suffer; and, unless she take counsel of discretion, she will ultimately be exhausted in the struggle.

The basis recognised in the "Vienna note," rejected by Russia, must finally be that upon which peace will be restored; and the Czar must consent at least to abandon his protectorate of the Principalities, and limit his power in the Black Sea.

The world is looking with breathless interest upon this gigantic struggle between the Allies and the Colossus of the North; but the true-hearted friends of humanity everywhere, and especially every American, must sympathize with England and France in the conflict. If the Russians should eventually be successful, the Testament of Peter, the Visions of Catharine, and the cherished dreams of the Russian people will all be realized. Before the death of Nicholas it is said he had already selected and educated the future commanders of "the army of Constantinople," "the army of India," &c.; and the march of events for the last century and a half demonstrates the steady determination of Russia to be satisfied with nothing short of continental supremacy and control. Her success in her designs upon Turkey would arrest the march of civilization and religion, and throw back for centuries the disenthralment of the nations. Whatever, therefore, may be the designs of the emperor of France or the ministry of England, we think the Allies are really fighting for the cause of freedom and religion; and that, unconsciously perhaps, they are accomplishing the merciful designs of Providence with respect to the enlightenment of the race. Russia is inert and feeble for purposes of aggression. Her vast extent of territory, her sparse population, and her want of facilities for easy and rapid transportation, make it impossible for her suddenly to assail any of her neighbours. Give her Constantinople and ready access to the Mediterranean and these disabilities cease. Give her the liberty to build ships and gather a navy in the Bosphorus, and refresh and discipline her legions on its shores, and she at once becomes potential in Europe and Asia, and holds the helm of the eastern hemisphere. It is one thing to march an army from Moscow or St. Petersburg upon India, Asia Minor, or Europe, across interminable steppes or through the rugged passes of the Caucasus, and quite another to launch it suddenly as a bolt from heaven, fresh and vigorous, from the barracks of Stamboul.

But aside from political reasons, if we can suppose the nations to be moved by motives of justice or equity, the Allies are fully justified in interposing in behalf of Turkey. We have an

unshaken belief in the righteousness of the abstract doctrine of "intervention." A strong nation is under as clear an obligation to interpose in behalf of a weak one, threatened with injury or ruin, as a strong man is to interpose in behalf of a weak one when assaulted by one stronger than himself. Nations should be the subjects of law as well as individuals; and the one has no more right to resort to violence than the other. And if a strong nation shows a disposition to disregard national law,—to play the invader and violate the rights of its weaker neighbour,—it becomes the common interest and duty of other nations to rebuke her and protect the party assailed, just as it is the duty of society to protect its members from unlawful violence, and to rebuke the swaggering bully.

The conflict between the Allies and Russia has been well called a conflict between civilization and barbarism. The outposts of the Russian Empire pushed to Constantinople would be another wave of that dark sea which has, more than once from the same direction, swept over Western Europe. We deprecate this result as the most disastrous event that could occur to civilization, to freedom, or to Christianity.

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#### ART. IV.—REMAINS OF LATIN TRAGEDY.

*Tragicorum Latinorum Reliquiæ.* Recensuit OTTO RIBBECK. Lipsiæ. Sumptibus et Formis B. G. Teubneri. MDCCCLIII. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 442.

IT is a very natural inquiry on the first inspection of this volume, or of any similar collection of ancient fragments, to ask, What is the use of such an aggregation of mutilated relics, and what healthy nourishment can be expected from a meal off such tough, broken, and indigestible victuals? The question is easily asked, and forces itself spontaneously on the mind. A satisfactory answer does not present itself quite so readily; and yet such an answer may be given, and had probably been conceived in even an exaggerated form before the labour of gathering, arranging, methodizing, and cleansing these antiquated remnants was undertaken.

Here, in one moderate-sized volume, of which the text occupies only the fourth part, or thereabouts, are brought together all the scattered relics of early Roman tragedy. Here are all the rags and shreds which have been preserved of the singing robes of some thirty-eight or forty Roman tragedians. They furnish forth a curious wardrobe of tattered garments. Nowhere is either a single breadth



of cloth or pattern of the piece entire, but the scanty patches are sufficiently numerous to afford adequate specimens of the texture of the fabric.

The whole long course of Latin literature has been diligently examined and forked over, and then strained through the fine sieve of critical acumen, to separate from the general soil the particles of crystal which are here strung together with an ingenious effort to introduce order into the midst of chaos, and to restore some appearance of symmetry to a dismembered and dissipated organism. The shivered bones, the desiccated muscles, the chords, and sinews, and fine dust of organizations, once complete in themselves, but now represented merely by blanched and mouldy splinters, are collected with a careful and tender hand, and decently laid out with a well-intended ingenuity, and with a solicitous anxiety to recompose the features of the dead from the scanty shreds of the several anatomies which can still be found. It is a very inefficient and bungling attempt at resurrection, but is a fitting prelude to a decent burial, and renders us capable of fully appreciating the funeral service, and the general character of the deceased.

Is it within the compass of even the richest imagination to accomplish or even to fancy the reunion, under a symmetrical and living form, of these dry bones from the valley of Jehoshaphat—to replace in their due positions in the skeleton these commingled fragments of matter once entire and animated, and to breathe into the heaps of dead, and shattered, and long putrescent limbs the vital air and warmth of their original semblance? The condensed commentary, (*Quæstionum Scenicarum Mantissa*,) appended to the text in this volume, will prove the earnest assiduity with which this task has been undertaken, and may illustrate the degree and extent of the success which is still attainable in this wilderness of possible imaginations. We must confess, however, that in all such enterprises we cannot wholly escape the impression that we behold the blind leading the blind.

Qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam.°

Does it not seem, on the first consideration, the vainest of all vain hopes, to evoke the secrets of life from the dust and ashes of the dead—to pretend to recall features which have never been seen in the memory of man, and of which no delineation has been transmitted to us—to revive images of beings, crushed, buried, and crumbled into dust, and known only by the little portions of bone and sinew still discernible amid the dust? Does it not seem the wildest of all wild imaginations to conjecture the past form and outline of a body,

° Ennii Telamo. Fr. II., v. 274, p. 45. Ribbeck.

when no individual of the species, no imitation, and no similitude has been perpetuated in its integrity, or even in any considerable part? All the bones are broken and imperfect, and all the articulations lost, of the skeleton which we would recompose. Yet the task has been attempted again and again, though rarely with such unfavourable materials as Otto Ribbeck operates on; and labours of this sort, desperate as they appear to be, are not limited to the resuscitation and reorganization of classical remains, but had been previously applied with singular felicity to the more difficult subjects of antediluvian creation.

The aims of the geological palæontologist and of the philologist who endeavours to methodize the fragments of classical antiquity are, in many respects, closely analogous. Both propose to reconstruct the original forms by the assistance of the indications afforded by the mutilated parts which are still accessible. Both contemplate the artificial and artistical arrangement of the relics in the order in which nature, or creative art, which is the simular of nature, had originally combined them. Both supply by sagacious and scientific conjecture the missing links which complete the skeleton, and explain the position and probable purpose of the bleached and time-eaten parts which form the only substantial materials for the whole imaginary construction. Both call into requisition like talents, and seek the achievement of like results. Both subdue imagination, though in unequal degrees, to the functions and sobriety of science; and, by cautious procedure in this course, consolidate dreams into realities. Whatever success may attend their ingenious conjectures, we may, however, derive a profitable warning from a caution found among the fragments at present submitted to our notice:—

*Aliquot sunt vera sompia, et non omnia est necesse.*<sup>o</sup>

Of the two classes of conjectural restorers of extinct forms, the geologist has, in some respects, much the more arduous task. He must complete the anatomy which he handles; he must imagine and delineate anew all that is wanting. Every absent bone, and claw, and osseous process must be conceived and represented, not arbitrarily, but with a strict regard to the pregnant though but slightly indicated signs which may be detected in the fossil antiquity in his hands. How latent, how trivial, or how effectual those indications may be, it is not our concern to exhibit at present. The internal composition of the bone may suffice for the determination of the type of the animal, or the foliation of the ivory as revealed by the microscope in the section of a tooth may suggest the shape and arrange-

<sup>o</sup> Ennius. *Incerti nominis Reliquiæ*. Fr. LVI., v. 401, p. 61. Ribbeck.

ment of all the other parts. But this belongs to the details and method of the procedure, not simply to its essential character. Whatever significances are employed, it is exacted of the speculative geologist, that the forms, the proportions, the combinations of the conjectural bones, shall correspond truly with the isolated *tibia* or clavicle, and explain the full meaning of these; and that the whole shall be put together in such a manner that the eye of science may be compelled to recognise, and the reason of science to admit, that an animal with such a skeleton could have lived, and moved, and pursued its prey, and digested its food, carnal or herbaceous, and spent with ease, and comfort, and propriety, its natural career on earth. It is not sufficient to put together the bones, real or imaginary, without interval or confusion, like the ivory pieces of the Chinese puzzle; but all the harmonies of life, secret or apparent, must be maintained, and the organic instruments for suitable action and for the complete discharge of the appropriate animal functions must be truthfully supplied.

Much of this exact fidelity and complicated labour is remitted to the philologist. He only proposes to establish the logical and the chronological succession of parts; and enjoys, moreover, the inestimable privilege of travelling without comment, around all insuperable or provoking difficulties, by an indefinite adjournment of the required solution. He is not compelled to provide all the links of connexion in their perfect order, in their separate parts, and in their complex arrangement; but only to produce a thread strong enough to support the beads with which he plays and to string them on such a thread, so that it may be possible with some verisimilitude to suppose them to have primitively manifested a somewhat similar arrangement. Brief articulations, having the merit of possibility, or the still higher excellence of plausibility, are all that are exacted at the hands of the critical archaeologist, and the whole domain of the conjectural and the imaginable is thrown open for the *divagations* of his fancy. It is not indispensable that he should be absolutely right in his suggestions and delineations; it is only necessary that he should escape being obviously wrong, and avoid all ordinary chances of being convicted of positive ignorance or blundering. Loose, too, as is the rein under which his course is run, even that he can shake off whenever it becomes irksome; he can leave the track and abandon the race wherever the ground is treacherous beneath his feet, or the effort too arduous for his strength.

But if the philologist is obedient to a milder law than that which controls the speculations of the palæontologist, the latter has some peculiar advantages which are denied to the former. If the forms

of the particular organizations which the archæologist of nature seeks to reconstruct are no longer known to the experience of men, careful inductions and the profound researches of comparative anatomy have, at least, revealed all the most important conditions of the modifications of animal life, and have determined the agreement of parts, their mutual dependence, or rather their reciprocal relations—the proportions between them, and their interdependent forms. Thus each part is already known to be a significant index of all the rest, and the character and range of those significances have also been already determined in great measure by science. Moreover, though in many instances complete types of extinct existences may no longer be found, partial types, exhibiting the separate elements of all the combinations of organic forms are still within our reach; and perfect, or nearly perfect skeletons of some of the most singular and anomalous specimens of extinct organization have been found imbedded in the earth. The philologist is, to a very great extent, denied any similar aid. For him there is no distinct canon of nature settled in its parts, and laws, and elementary forms, though variable in their combinations and adaptations. In the productions of literature—in the creations of artistic imagination—neither is the whole necessarily determined by the separate fragmentary parts, nor are the parts altogether correspondent with each other. Genius operates under a law of freedom, and not like nature, under a law of regular and uniform development. Hence, when the form in which genius moulded its creations has once been broken, it is broken forever; and no exemplar is perpetuated as an heirloom for after ages. Like the phoenix, it produces but one at a birth, and transfuses its whole life into its single progeny. The type is always limited in its full characteristics to the solitary individual, and when the life of that individual has been destroyed, for it there is no resurrection, and rarely the possibility of a transmitted image. So far as the earlier Latin tragedy is concerned, no complete summary, or skeleton, or representation of the forms and combinations, which delighted or surprised the learned or lettered of ancient Rome, has yet been discovered among the moths, and worms, and dirt, and dust, and mouldy paper and conglomerated rubbish of the antiquated libraries of Europe.

Fortunately for their modern appreciation, the Roman tragedies were not strictly the productions of genius, but in the main the art-manufactures of imitative industry. Nevertheless the hope of even partially or plausibly receiving the semblance of ancient Latin tragedy would be empty indeed, but for three favouring circumstances. The miscellaneous writers of Rome do not merely pre-

serve quotations from the earlier tragedians, like flies in amber, or more frequently like fossils in concretionary rock; but they afford numerous passing illustrations of the character of the dramatists and their dramas. In the works of Seneca we still possess several perfect specimens of the later Latin tragedy, which, by comparison with the information on this subject to be obtained elsewhere, we find to possess a strong family resemblance to their predecessors. In the literature of Greece we have numerous complete tragedies, and a copious profusion of the fragments of others, which we know to have been imitated, pillaged, and translated by the tragic dramatists of Rome. There were few departments of Latin literature which had any extensive or valid pretensions to originality, or which avoided the blame of bold, bare-faced, unblushing, imbecile plagiarism; and we are well-assured that neither the tragedy nor the comedy of the Romans was one of its manifestations which was free from this censure.

These considerations almost compensate the philologist for the superior advantages attributed to his fellow-labourer whose business it is to pry into the bowels of the earth, exhume the bones, and skeletons, and casts of defunct beasts and races of beasts, and recompose the forgotten types of animate existence. They more than compensate for them when we take into the estimation the less exacting laws under which the philological palæontologist pursues his investigations. Still the processes employed by both classes of inquirers are strikingly analogous; and we cannot refrain from assigning to the brilliant example of geological successes much of the new-born zeal which has recently been displayed in the detection, collection, purification, and ordination of ancient fragments. We do not remember any such compilation anterior to the commencement of the century. The broken crumbs which could be claimed for authors of whom we possessed complete works had been previously compiled; and this had been done with much care and fidelity in the case of the most distinguished writers. Bentley, about a century earlier, had contemplated the preparation and co-adunation of the dramatic fragments of Greece, but he never realized his purpose; and no complete body of special fragments—no copious aggregation of all the broken bread and tough crusts of a particular leaven—had, to our knowledge, been achieved before the beginning of the current generation. Now there are numerous compilations of the kind—every branch of literature has its well-stuffed rag-bag—and it is scarcely possible any longer, by the perusal of scholiasts, lexicographers, or grammarians, to stumble across a genuine relic of antiquity which has not been already picked up, inserted in some

cabinet of old bones, and incorporated into some *corpus deperditorum*, or refuge of the lost.

The scope of Meinherr Ribbeck's labours has permitted him to dispense with any assistance which the tragedies of Seneca might have afforded him. His collection is a critical and philological—not an æsthetical, or in any very liberal sense, an exegetical exposition of the carcass of Roman tragedy. The sanctimonious purification of the several texts, the scrupulous ostentation of archaisms, the collation of readings and comparison of manuscript variations, and the true antiquarian avidity to rescue from oblivion or foreign association every fragment of this particular class of antiquities, and to introduce it into his cabinet of damaged curiosities, are his chief aims in this volume. His secondary purpose, which is, however, pursued with equal diligence, is to replace the fragments in their due sequence, or in that succession which his taste, his judgment, his imagination, or his laborious industry has suggested as having possibly been their pristine order; to exhibit their original purport and relations; to combine them with the soft and easily-worked cement of conjecture; and to trace their obligations to Greek prototypes. We will not call in question the skill and dexterity which attend him throughout the course of his slow and lumbering procedure; but his rough and rugged utterance, his pedantry, and his affected graces, very effectually obscure or conceal the talents which he may have applied to the execution of his undertaking. He is full of airs and grimaces, and these are curiously travestied when rendered into Latin. There is a quaint whimsicality in his expression; there is a ludicrous attempt to unite dignity and humor, levity and sarcasm; but the dignity, like Mr. Turveydrop's deportment, is amusing, and the humour is not—the levity is too ponderous, and the sarcasm wants point and perspicuity—two important requisites of wit. Like the satyrs of the tragedy which he attempts to illustrate, he has rashly ventured into an unfamiliar walk:—

“Asper

*Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit.*”

But if the asperity is apparent, the joke is indiscernible; and if his gravity is maintained, his reader's is lost; but the laugh unfortunately is not at the jest, but at the solemn countenance with which it is restrained. From these and other causes the Latinity of M. Ribbeck is as rigid, and starched, and stately as a robe of old-fashioned brocade—the papyrus rattles as we read. His language is a mosaic of pieces of stained glass, put together with an intricate precision which bewilders the eye and fatigues the attention. It is much too



grandiose and glaring for our taste and often for our comprehension, and sounds more like the prize declamation of a Ciceronian sophister than as if meant to contain a serious meaning and convey information. It is too fine and not sufficiently intelligible. It may win golden smiles and commendations from the unsolicitous because unappreciating multitude—it may gain the applause of pedants who would gladly imitate it—but to those who desire sense rather than sound, and instruction rather than display, and especially than ineffectual display, it will appear intolerable. In a general way the Latin of German commentators is not pleasant reading. Their ideas linger languidly along in undulating volumes, like the smoke which curls from their meerschaums; their sentences imitate this involution and partake of this tedious continuity till they straggle, like a cobweb, over two or three pages; and their phrases tumble heavily along, suffering from all manner of dislocations. To read such Latin after perusing the clear, sharp, quick utterance of the classics is a sufficiently melancholy employment; but when a Dutch commentator tries to write finely, as Ribbeck does, and to embroider euphemisms with Latin thread on a Dutch canvass, he becomes insupportable while ceasing to be intelligible. The preface and commentary of Ribbeck are but too obvious to this criticism; for his Latin is as offensive as the English of Dr. Parr, Barker of Thetford, or Headley, and, in some degree, from the same cause. It is too fine. But while reprehending the expression employed in the commentary, we must approve the diligence and industry with which M. Ribbeck has collected and exposed the materials which it contains. There is too much disposition to embrace as good spoil all that is encompassed by his net; but, in the few lines of investigation contemplated by the *Mantissa* we must complain of the exuberance rather than of any deficiency of materials—and it assuredly would be fastidious hypercriticism to grumble at an excess in this particular.

In all parts of his task, Ribbeck, or Mr. Ribbeck, according to the fashion adopted by English literati in designating German scholars, has had abundant assistance from previous explorers in the same path, whose investigations and imaginations he has faithfully and sometimes maliciously appreciated; but he has been especially indebted to his predecessors in that division of his inquiries which is devoted to the illustration of the dependence of the Roman on the Greek tragedians. With the perseverance, fidelity, and pertinacity of a slough-hound he has tracked the Latins, on every possible occasion, and almost at every turn, to their Attic masters. He has thus furnished abundant, ready, and convenient proof of what

has long been known as a general truth, that the Latin tragedy, in its earliest as well as in its latest forms, was only a faint, feeble, flashy, and servile imitation of Greek originals. How feeble or how servile it was can scarcely be discovered at this late day—though, with the copious array of examples here supplied, there is more danger of exaggerating than of underrating its feebleness. How slavish it was, not merely in general outline or occasional conceptions, but in its whole tenor, in its most minute subdivisions, and in verbal composition, may be very fully seen in the mirror presented by Otto Ribbeck.

A large portion of the relics secured from the wreck of ages exhibits a pure transcription from the Greek. Horace rather announced the prevailing practice than originated a precept or gave expression to a rule of art in his celebrated recommendation to his countrymen—

“Vos exemplaria Græca  
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.”

There was no more need of giving any such instruction to the Latin dramatists than of preaching to a corps of professors and practitioners of grand and petty larceny on the policy of never stealing empty purses when full ones are to be obtained, and of taking gold watches in preference to pinchbeck. Every rascal among the Roman tragedians had already, with diligent exclusiveness, plundered and cribbaged—(convey, the wise it call!)—everything that was transportable from the copious literature of Greece. In modern times a high æsthetic meaning has been habitually assigned to Horace's recommendation: he has been generously supposed to have held up high models of art for the cultivation of the taste and the chastening of the genius of his countrymen. We may not have done too much honour to the didactic poet, but we certainly do give too much credit to his audience by such an interpretation. They had the Greeks already in their hands; and with their rapacious fingers were tearing out passage after passage and scene after scene, to be transferred or translated into their own works of original Roman genius. To go no further for an illustration, one of the longest fragments in this collection, the opening lines of the *Medea* of Ennius, is a literal transcript from the commencement of the *Medea* of Euripides. This is merely one convenient instance selected out of many, when nearly every fragment furnishes a new example of the literary insolvency of the Romans. The debtor side of the account is very fully exhibited in the commentaries of Ribbeck; and it may be safely said that there were but very few credits, and

would have been much fewer had not most of the Greek vouchers of Roman indebtedness been lost.

We are thus enabled to perceive how completely this, like most other branches of Roman literature, was a reproduction of Greek genius. The whole truth, or nearly the whole truth, is revealed to us at a single glance. It was not merely an imitation, for it did not recur to Greece only for examples, or models, or occasional embellishments, but it sought its plans, its plots, its frame-work, its materials from that source. Every stick of timber in the skeleton of the tragic drama of Rome was brought from the stately temples of Greek art. The native brilliancy and freshness were rubbed off, the fine carving was pared away, the gilding was defaced, and everything was lacquered over with the coarse colours of the Roman shop; but still the original substance was retained, and sufficient traces of its former state were left to render the theft or the violent appropriation apparent. True, the Roman dramatists acknowledged and gloried in the theft: they had little native wealth of their own to gratify their vanity or pride, and they vaunted the dexterity and success with which they had transferred to themselves the possessions of their more richly endowed neighbours. It was just such an exploit as might have won the applause of listening rogues, if performed upon more material articles of property, and narrated in the back alleys and subterranean tenements frequented by the pick-pockets and light-fingered gentry of London or New-York.

The fragments of Latin tragedy still preserved, show, even in their hopeless mutilation, how closely the tragedians adhered in the general outline to the plan, and in the separate parts to the spirit and expression, but not to the grace, of their teachers. The principle on which their aberrations from the text seems to have been conducted, was a singularly awkward device. They rarely followed throughout, and apparently only in the earliest times, the entire development of the particular tragedy which they selected as their model, or borrowed as their groundwork. Instead of pursuing so plain a course, they blended different tragedies together, mixing up different legends, different religious dogmas, and inconsistent materials; and they completed their fabric by a patchwork process, forming only rubble-work, though many of the most precious and exquisite pieces of Greek antiquity were broken up to fill an angle, and awkwardly introduced into the masonry. A Latin tragedy was built like a Gothic wall. Masses of shattered columns, sculptured architraves, groined work, and mutilated statues, all unquestionably the creation of a more artistic people, were compounded together with greater or less skill, in the rude and rugged structure that was erected.

In one of these old Roman tragedies, of which crumbling fragments alone remain, which, separately, seem incapable of giving any information relative to their original use, or the organism to which they belonged, two or three Greek tragedies were often reproduced, parts being taken from each, but the life and spirit of all being sacrificed by the mutilation, butchery, and dismemberment to which they were subjected. Not content with the spoils obtained by this barbarous procedure, it then sought to beautify and enrich itself with plundering from other Greek dramas such gems and ornaments as seemed most appropriate to the occasion or most easy of transfer, substituting coloured glass and pebbles for gold and precious stones; and endeavouring to atone for any deficiency in the quality by the multiplication of the gaudy decorations. It was the labour of just such taste as might induce a rustic maiden to deck her fat red fingers, and adorn her rubicund neck with countless gewgaws in default of a single valuable ornament.

All these glimpses into the composition and constitution of the ancient Latin tragedy are speedily afforded to us by the inspection of its collected remains, and the lesson is immediately and forcibly imprinted upon our minds by the copious illustrations which the diligent but tiresome commentary of Ribbeck provides. Not one word, of course, does he say suggestive of the views which we have been expressing. He would abhor any such profanity. He looks upon all these relics as so many priceless jewels. If not valuable in themselves, they are venerable and valuable for the rust, and mould, and mildew which has settled upon them in the course of dusty ages. He touches them with reverential hand, furbishes them up, turns them over tenderly, exhibits them in their brightest aspects, honours them by the exposition of their Greek lineage and affiliations, but meanwhile supplies all the evidences which render irresistible the inferences which we have drawn. In his dainty Latinity there is no place for such *scandalum magnatum* as we have been promulgating. There every broken pebble and bone is sanctified, and the soil on which they rest is holy ground. That admiration which the Latin tragedy in its integrity was not calculated to inspire he accords to these decayed remnants of a mock divinity.

"Quoi nec aræ patriæ domi stant; fractæ et disjectæ jacent,  
Fana Flamma deflagrata, tosti alti stant parietes,  
Deformati, atque abiecti crispæ ° ° °."

We take the lesson which is taught by the facts exhibited, and are grateful to that devotional enthusiasm which could alone have stim-

° Ennius. *Andromache* *Æchmalotis*. Fr. IX. vv. 78-80, p. 21.

ulated the conception of so complete a collection and exposition of the facts, and cherished the industry requisite for the due realization of the idea.

But this is a very scanty, and perhaps the least important, advantage to be derived from this cabinet of tragic fragments. It is doubtless sufficient to redeem from the charge of uselessness or vanity the time and labour bestowed upon their collection and arrangement; but numerous other purposes are subserved by the same exhibition. We could not fully appreciate the literary and intellectual—scarcely even the general—character and condition of the Roman people, with any confident assurance, if any portion of their literature was denied the illustration which it is capable of receiving. And this indebtedness to Greece for its literary successes and enjoyments is one of the most significant phenomena in the intellectual and social career of Rome. Moreover, this significance is deepened by the extent to which the obligation has been incurred in that department which, of all others, most essentially bears the impress of nationality and originality among any people who have a spontaneous aptitude and a native taste and talent for literary pursuits of any kind. For the drama being the representation of life in its essence and purport—"the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure"—speaking to the popular heart and the public sentiment in promiscuous assemblies, should address itself to the spontaneous instincts and tastes of the people, and will so address itself whenever a national literature and a national literary taste exist. Thus the very complexion of Latin tragedy, as manifested in its fragmentary remains, affords the most conclusive evidence of the absence of either literary vocation or true poetical appetences among the ancient Romans. For them, copies, no matter how foreign, sufficed in place of the original creations of genius, and derivative streams were as welcome as the living fountains should have been had they existed.

It is a proof of the good sense and correct judgment of Horace, that he endeavoured to praise the few and feeble efforts which had been made to introduce a more Roman spirit into the tragedy of the Roman stage. His patriotism prevented him from recognising or acknowledging that the same imitativeness of Roman art was due to the absence of any genuine poetic element in the character and life of the Romans. The people of Rome were too actively engaged in the stern and exacting pursuits of practical action; they were too completely and habitually under the restraints of a cool political sagacity in the acquisition and maintenance of their vast dominion to indulge in the reveries of song, or to cherish those tendencies of

human sentiment which seek expression in the melodious utterances of poetry. The realities of life, the requirements of a great and extended political domain, exercised the more serious faculties of their minds, and left but a narrow scope and rare occasions for the indulgence of those graceful sentiments which are inspired by the worship of the Muses. The Romans were a race of practical, energetic, grasping, ambitious statesmen; philosophical speculation, poetic aspirations, and æsthetic reveries were foreign to their habits of thought, to their military and political training, and to the exactions of their situation in the order of human development. Virgil, though himself having overcome more successfully than any of his countrymen the obstacles to poetic culture presented by the tendencies of his country, distinctly recognises these adverse influences.

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,  
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:  
Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus  
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;  
Hæ tibi crunt artes; pacisque imponere morem.  
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."<sup>o</sup>

The consummate art of Virgil has excluded any specific mention of the literary inferiority of the Romans to the Greeks; but the idea of such inferiority is plainly implied in these celebrated verses. Horace, though distinctly admitting the superior excellence of the Greek exemplars, speaks in terms of admiration of the efforts made by some of the Roman tragedians to break away from a minute imitation of Attic models, and to represent Roman life and Roman characters on the stage. The eulogy is strained to the utmost that circumstances would permit even a Roman courtier and poet to hazard; yet, when closely examined, it conveys no very high commendation. The attempt rather than the execution is the subject of his praise—the aim rather than the result.

"Nil intentatum nostri liquere poetæ:  
Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca  
Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta;  
Vel qui prætextas, vel qui docuere togatas  
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis,  
Quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum—  
Quemque poetarum, limæ labor et mora.†

This want of finish in the domestic tragedies of the Romans is obvious from the very meagre remains which still survive; but it is by no means a distinguishing peculiarity of that class of dramas;

<sup>o</sup> Virg., *Æn.* VI. vv. 848–854.

† Hor. *Ep. ad Pisones.* vv. 285–291.



but is even more apparent in those which are confessedly derived from Greek originals. This imperfection in its general application to the whole series of the earlier Latin tragedies, will form the subject of future remarks. It is only noticed here for the sake of calling attention to the dexterity with which Horace insinuates a compliment to the other productions of the tragic muse of Rome, by applying his censure only to particular classes of the drama. The praise, however, which he endeavours to convey in these lines, courtly as it is—and it must be remembered that Augustus himself was a candidate for the honours of tragic composition, though his labours never reached beyond the jurisdiction of his sponge\*—involves a great deal more of blame than of real approval, and shows us that if the historical tragedy of Rome (*Fabula prætextata*) was possessed of little merit, the derivative, translated, or Greek tragedy of Rome was not very much better; and that if the Romans failed when they deserted the constant support of their Greek models, their success was only moderate even when they most rigidly adhered to them.

The direct evidences of dramatic incompetency supplied by the surviving fragments of the Latin tragedy, and the indirect testimony to the like effect afforded by the anxious and ingenious compliments of Horace, are deepened and extended by the consideration that some of the earliest writers of Roman tragedy were not native but foreign authors—and not even freemen, but slaves from Magna Græcia, or of libertine parentage. Indeed, of the five earliest and the five principal Latin tragedians, all except Nævius, whose origin is uncertain, though he must have been a Roman citizen, come under one or other of these categories, and some of them under more than one, being either Greeks, or slaves, or sons of freedmen, or Greeks and slaves, or Greeks and sons of freedmen. Nothing of this sort can be safely imputed to Nævius, whose temper, tendencies, and tastes were peculiarly Roman, and whose inclinations associated him with the antiquated and retrograde school of the elder Cato, though himself the earliest and very nearly the ablest poet of the pure Roman race. His intense and obsolete nationality was with him a source of characteristic pride, though it may not have been any great merit. When we compare the fragments of his own writings and those of Livius Andronicus with the gradually more and more Hellenized and refined expressions of his successors, we can feel and appreciate both the justice and the morose point of the boast contained in the quaint

\* Sueton. Octav. c. lxxv. "Nam tragiædiam, magus impetu exorsus, non succedente stilo, abolevit: 'quærentibusque amicis quidnam Ajax ageret, respondit; Ajaxem suum in spongiam incubuisse.'"

epitaph which he composed for his tomb, in his own cherished Saturnian measure.

Mortales immortales flere si foret fas,  
Flerent Divæ Camenæ Nævium poetam,  
Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro  
Obliiti sunt Romani loquier Latina lingua.<sup>o</sup>

Nævius is certainly an anomaly in the literature of Rome, and especially in the history of Latin tragedy. He had no legitimate precursor, and he left no successor or imitator of his literary tastes and appetences. We do not mean to say that he had not his own school of admirers, for this would be contrary to testimony; but no later poet of Rome belonged distinctly to the same type. Lucilius and Laberius were the nearest approximations to it, but they differed from him in more points than those in which they resembled him. The incongruity of his position in the historical development of the Latin tragedy, inclines us to concede much weight to the doubts of Welcker, who regards it as dubious whether he was a tragic poet. Ribbeck treats with supercilious irony this imputation of Welcker's, and proceeds confidently to expand the brief fragments into orderly tragedies, illustrated by references to and comparisons with their supposed Greek originals.<sup>†</sup> The titles of the dramas of Nævius are on the side of Ribbeck; they assuredly portend tragic purposes. The fragments have no very tragic significance, but might have been inserted for the most part indifferently in tragedy, comedy, farce, or satire. Historical presumptions and other probabilities appear to favour the view of Welcker. Whatever conclusion we adopt, it is founded on conjectural premises alone; though the general current of belief has received Nævius as a tragic author, and as such it is safest to accept him, though his admission into the tragic choir occasions many troublesome anomalies.

If the name of Nævius were withdrawn from the list of early Roman tragedians, the foreign and servile origin of the Latin tragedy would be completely established. Livius Andronicus, the most ancient poet of Rome, and the creator of its tragic drama,<sup>‡</sup> was a native of Magna Græcia, taken captive by the Romans, and became the slave of M. Livius Salinator, from whom he received his first name on his emancipation. His first play—it is unknown whether it was a comedy or a tragedy—was exhibited at Rome, A. C. 240. This

<sup>o</sup> A. Gellius *Noctes Atticæ*. I., c. xxiv.

<sup>†</sup> *Reliqu. Trag. Lat.*, p. 245.

<sup>‡</sup> A. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XVII. c. xxi, 42. "Coss Claudio Centone et illi Sompronio Tuditano primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romæ cepit."

date accordingly indicates the commencement both of Latin tragedy and Latin literature; and the most ancient author of the one as of the other was a Messapian Greek and a slave. It was perfectly natural that he should have restricted himself to the translation of Greek originals; but what would have been remarkable, if the Romans had enjoyed any natural vocation for literature was, that the example so given should have been so long and so rigidly followed, and with rare and but partially successful deviations from the prescribed fashion.

Nævius is the second tragedian in point of time, and the second whose remains are gathered into the mausoleum of dead bones. Of him enough has been already said. It is only necessary to add that the year A. C. 235 has been assigned, on very loose data, as the date of his first dramatic exhibition.

The celebrated name of Q. Ennius appears next in the series and in the chronological succession of these poets. With him commenced a bolder flight of Latin poetry, and those marked improvements in the constitution of the Latin tongue and versification which moved the bile of Nævius. The spiteful epitaph of that splenetic Roman may, indeed, be regarded as especially directed against the linguistic innovations of his more illustrious and more fortunate rival. Ennius, like Livius Andronicus, was a foreigner—a Greek from Rudiae, in the neighbourhood of Brundisium. Thus the adjoining provinces of Messapia and Calabria gave birth to the founder and to the perfecter of Latin tragedy. The birth of Ennius took place in the year succeeding the first representation of a Latin drama by Livius Andronicus. His old age, and his military, perhaps even more than his literary, services to the republic, were honoured by the then rare gift of Roman citizenship; and after having lived through the full term of the life of man—threescore and ten years—he died in the humble habitation on the Aventine which he had long occupied.

The labours of Ennius were most varied and extensive. He wrote on a diversity of subjects, and translated abundantly from the Greeks. His principal compositions were in verse, but he cultivated prose also, and was probably one of the very earliest authors, if not the earliest, in this department. He softened, polished, and harmonized the language in various modes, and enriched it with unfamiliar metres, and especially with the heroic hexameter, which was afterward refined into such perfection by Lucretius and Virgil as to become the national verse of Rome. The contemporary and posthumous celebrity of Ennius rested chiefly on his *Annals*, which treated the history of the Romans in this metre, and invited, by the

national popularity of the subject, the admiration which was long bestowed upon his talents. In the selection of this topic for poetic treatment he had been preceded by his contemporary and rival, En. Nævius; but the rugged old Saturnian metre of the latter was obliged to yield to the sonorous fulness and rich majesty of the hexameter verse. Ennius and Nævius probably never met; the latter had been banished from Rome for his pasquinades on the Metelli and the aristocracy before the former was brought to Rome; but this did not prevent the indulgence of mutual jealousies.

Nineteen or twenty years before the arrival of Ennius in Rome, his nephew, M. Pacuvius, the greatest or nearly the greatest of the early tragedians, was born at Brundisium. Consequently he was a Greek, or at least of Greek descent on the mother's side. Like Euripides, whom he imitated so closely in some of his plays, that he is called on this account, in one place by Ribbeck, "*libertus quasi Euripidis*,"\* Pacuvius was a professional painter as well as a poet. Notwithstanding, however, this close adherence occasionally to his Greek models, Pacuvius seems to have, at times, displayed a more vigorous originality than was customary with the Roman tragedians. His long life, which was extended to ninety years, enabled him to cultivate the friendship and foster the talents of his successor Attius, and thus exhibit in his closing years the same pleasing spectacle of literary emulation without jealousy, which he had displayed in the outset of his career by his association with his uncle, Ennius. In A. C. 140, Pacuvius, then eighty years old, and Attius at the age of thirty-eight, represented tragedies together at the same celebration.†

With Attius the list of the older tragedians of celebrity, of whose works specimens remain, is concluded. He was half a century younger than Pacuvius, having been born in A. C. 170. He was the son of a freedman, and, like his two immediate predecessors, lived to a very advanced age. He divided with Pacuvius the honour of being considered the most illustrious of the earlier dramatists. They are both mentioned with high and almost equal commendation by Velleius, Paternulus, and Quintilian, who, however, justly note the absence of grace and literary polish from their compositions, as from all the productions of that age.

This passing biographical notice of the ancient chiefs of Roman tragedy, besides illustrating other topics which may be briefly resumed hereafter, explains the original character of that drama by

\* Trag. Lat. Reliqu., p. 281. *Questionum Scenicarum Mantissa*.

† "Accius iisdem Ædilibus ait se et Pacuvium docuisse fabulam, quum ille octaginta, ipse triginta annos natus esset." Cic. Brut., c. lxiv., § 229.

establishing the fact that nearly all the principal poets of those times were either of Greek or of servile origin. Under these circumstances the close and even servile imitation of the Greek exemplars was a natural procedure, and one which became too habitual to be readily or extensively abandoned at a later period.

"Non possum ferro Quirites

Græcam urbim; quamvis quota portio laudis Achææ."<sup>o</sup>

We have hazarded the license of transmuting one expression in this quotation to render it peculiarly appropriate; for the censure of Juvenal on the manners of his metropolitan contemporaries becomes by this slight alteration applicable to the general current of the literary culture of Rome.

This Greek impress was never lost by the Latin tragedy. With the progress of time, the increasing favour for the art, the purer taste and the larger cultivation of the Romans, the style, and perhaps the composition of the drama were improved, chastened, and refined. As the Latin language lost gradually its primitive harshness and angularity, tragedy participated in the benefits of the change, and divested itself of much of its former ruggedness. Nay, the greater tragedians, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Attius were mainly instrumental in effecting this refinement; and the elegancies dictated by the requirements of their verse passed, in process of time, into general use among the educated, and laid the foundations of the classic Latinity of the Ciceronian and Augustan age.

The illustration of this gradual amelioration of the Latin tongue in its forms, grammatical inflexions, syntactical development, and rhythmical construction, is one of the chief advantages to be derived from such a gathering of broken meats as the present. Indeed, it is impossible to trace with any confidence the progress of the Latin language from the unintelligible and discordant sounds of the Arvalian song, and the other relics of a later but still uncouth period, to the precise elegance and harmonious utterance of Cicero and Virgil, Horace and Livy, without a careful study of the intermediate literature. The fusion of the Oscan, Pelasgic, and other elements which entered into the composition of the Latin, remains a philosophical mystery in the absence of any suitable materials to furnish the data for investigation. But the transition from the rude speech of the old patrician ages to the artificial graces of the declining republic and dawning empire may still be examined, by the aid especially of this or a similar collection of archæological curiosities. The frag-

<sup>o</sup> Juvenal. Sat. III., vv. 60-61. The reading of the original text is "fæcis" in the place of laudis.

ments of the Latin tragedians, that is to say, of the earliest and most copious in this collection, are the oldest specimens of Latin literature extant: Livius Andronicus and Nævius were the older contemporaries of Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, whose chief works were indeed written in Greek; and Attius was still writing new pieces for the stage when the satirist Lucilius, who appeared rough to the circumcised ears of Horace,\* died in A. C. 103. These tragic remnants, accordingly, belong distinctly to the transition stage of the language; bearing nearly the same relation to what preceded and what followed them as the works of Lydgate and Chaucer do to the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman productions of old England, and to the master-pieces of the later and more classic times. They are, indeed, almost the sole literary mementoes of this period of great and rapid transition. Before them the Romans possessed indeed no literature that can be properly so designated; but there were more ancient specimens of composition in verse and in prose—the Twelve Tables, the Annals of the Pontiffs, the Statutes of the People, *Plebis scita* or *Senatus consulta*, the *Jura Papiriana* and *Flaviana*, inscriptions, and popular songs, perhaps also a few meagre chronicles not of sacerdotal origin. Of these some remnants have been preserved to our times:—the song of the *Fratres Arvales*, previously mentioned, parts of the Twelve Tables, though not in the unredeemed rudeness of their primitive enunciation, the inscriptions on the Duilian column and on the tomb of the Scipios, and the old rustic formula of lustration. The decree of the senate against the Bacchanalians is nearly contemporary with the birth of Pacuvius, and consequently precedes the middle age of the early Roman tragedy. There are several notices, too, of the more ancient peculiarities of the language afforded by Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, the grammarians, and the miscellaneous authors.

With these materials, scanty as they are, and insufficient as they must be confessed to be for any minute appreciation of the earlier types of Roman speech, we are enabled to trace the historical de-

\* Horace asserts in this criticism the entire dependence of Lucilius on the Attic comedians, representing his satires as simple translations. Hor. Sat. I, iv, vv. 6–13.

Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus,  
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,  
Emanetque naris, duras componere versus,  
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus; in hora sæpe ducentos  
Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno;  
Cum fluere lulentus, erat quod tollere velles:  
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem;  
Scribendi recte; nam, ut multum, nil moror.



velopment of the Latin language with some degree of insight into the amount and character of the changes which it underwent, though not to exhibit them systematically. We may observe with amazement the wide discrepance between the language of the Augustan age and that of the generations by whom the foundations of Roman power and dominion were laid. This chasm, which seems at first blush impassable by any continuity of literary progress—this discord which is apparently irreconcilable by any theoretic explanation—is diminished and softened down by studying the mutual affinities and contrasts of these remnants of the tragedians with the relics of earlier times and with the finished productions of the more polished and mature ages of Rome. The incongruous extremes were united and blended together by the intervention of Greek culture, and this Greek spirit was introduced and directly infused into the body of the Roman language and literature by the Greeks from Magna Græcia and their imitators, whose labours are represented by these fragments of Latin tragedy.

It is not merely the vocabulary and terminology of the language which are thus illustrated, but all the elementary constituents which enter into the determination of literary composition. The grammatical inflexions, the constructions, the orthography, the metrical harmony, and the employment of words, all undergo notable modifications during the period which prepares them for their classical usage. These changes, with reference to both the earlier and the later forms of the language, are exemplified in this copious collection, though of course less fully with regard to their preceding than to their subsequent condition. No people ever effectuated so complete a transmutation of their native tongue in the same brief period as the Romans, unless we except the French between the eras of Rabelais and Pascal. A century and a half was sufficient to convert the Oscan rusticity of the older speech into the almost Hellenic elegance of Lucretius and Catullus.

These points, though constituting the principal advantage to be derived from any such compilation as the present, are not in any wise directly elucidated by Ribbeck. That diligent but pedantic editor was engaged with antiquarian curiosities of a different character. The service which may be rendered by these fragments in these respects must be gathered from an attentive study of the texts themselves, and is not facilitated by any special intervention of this compiler and commentator. We regard this omission, however, as no very serious blemish, if indeed it should be considered a fault at all. The treatment of such topics belongs most appropriately to a formal history, or to a philosophical grammar of the Latin language;

and it is only from such works that we could exact the application of these "disjecta membra" to the purpose of exhibiting the progressive changes and improvements of the Roman tongue. This assistance should not be expected from a work in which the fragments are simply collected together for general and promiscuous use. We are not partial to that mode of editing and annotating the classics which was prevalent in Germany and other countries of Europe half a century ago, and crowded into the foot-notes the most varied and promiscuous matters, relevant and irrelevant, depositing on any occasion the whole contents of plethoric *adversaria*, like shooting dirt from a mud-cart. The recent tendency of the best editors of Germany is perhaps objectionable for its scrupulous observance of the opposite extreme. But Ribbeck avoids the naked accuracy of Bekker and his imitators. What was required of the latest editor of the Latin tragedians, and what he undertook to provide, was a comprehensive, complete, correct, and critical exhibition of the fragments themselves: and we can neither exact nor need we desire from this volume anything more than what he proposed to perform. We may be obliged to his diligence and ingenuity for having appended a conjectural reproduction of the original order of the fragments in the respective dramas to which they belong, and an equally conjectural representation of the tenor and treatment of the tragedies themselves. The enigmatical and euphemistic preamble with which he commences his "Mantissa," might authorize the supposition that he edited and purified the fragments principally as an introduction to his supplementary work of imagination. This latter labour may, however, be almost regarded as a distinct and independent production, entitled to praise or censure on grounds which do not affect in any considerable degree the merits or the demerits of the compilation of the texts.

In this country, removed as we are from the great and aged libraries of the old world, there is scarcely any possibility of adequate access to the various manuscripts of the ancient classics. It is nearly twenty years since we saw such a manuscript, and then the sight was not vouchsafed to us on this side of the Atlantic. It is consequently a mere empty pretension, preposterous and presumptuous, for any one here to undertake to criticise the skill and fidelity of a critical edition of any ancient author, unless the defects are so obvious and gross as to suggest themselves from the simple inspection of the results given. We will not, then, presume to discuss the merits of M. Ribbeck's critical labours, but will accept them thankfully, not as conclusive, but as provisionally satisfactory at least. There are instances, it is true, where we suspect syllables

and even feet to be redundant, the orthography to be erroneous, and other blemishes to exist; but we choke down our suspicions, as we have no means of verifying them, and concede the correctness of the readings presented. So much we are warranted in assuming for the nonce with reasonable confidence; for so much care has of late years been expended on the grammar of the Latin language, and on the whole series of the classics, including the most of the authors from whose works these fossil specimens of antiquated Latinity have been disinterred; M. Ribbeck has been in such close correspondence with so many learned men who have devoted their attention to the illustration of the originals of the language, as is proclaimed in his preface—and he furnishes so much evidence of diligence and industry by his exposition of the various readings—that we may conclude, at least presumptively, that his judgment may be trusted, and that the text of these fragments is sufficiently castigated and purified to subserve the purposes contemplated by a critical edition.

This critical labour, and the exegetical enterprise of arranging the fragments in the order in which they may have occurred, and of elucidating their position and the texture of the dramas from which they have been severed, constitute the sole assistance rendered toward satisfying those inquiries which are suggested, and which must be solved principally by, these relics.

To this specification we ought properly to add the valuable aid which may be obtained from the very complete and admirable index appended to this volume. It is a complete lexicon of ragged Latinity—a thorough concordance—a perfect catalogue of all the fossil shells, weeds, and bones, important or trivial, contained in this museum of broken pebbles, vegetable remains, and mutilated limbs. This index furnishes of itself, in a concise form and in a compact mass, the whole collection of materials available in these chips of Latin tragedy for the careful examination and appreciation of the changes of the Latin language, and the principles and progress of such changes. It throws no light, of course, upon metrical peculiarities, or upon the characteristics of the literary taste of the authors in the composition of their tragedies. These are points which can only be investigated by the close and direct inspection of the texts in their due places.

These phenomena appear sufficiently marked and sufficiently interesting to merit special notice, and to them we shall devote the brief remainder of this criticism. Our observations will be merely desultory, for we cannot enter minutely or profoundly into such recondite topics. They will be offered in no dogmatic temper, and with no expectation that they will meet with general assent. It

would be too wild a flight of imagination to anticipate that inferences drawn from such scant premises as these fragments afford, and with such meagre opportunities as are at our command, would be either unassailable or generally acceptable. They can only be proposed for public consideration. They have forced themselves upon our notice in the study of this volume. To ourselves they appear not merely plausible but probable; and they are stated that they may receive the fuller and more competent estimation of others having greater facilities or greater special familiarity with these matters than ourselves.

The first peculiarity which we shall notice is the very sparse occurrence of pure iambic feet in the iambic metres. Spondees and dactils are introduced with a licence and exuberance wholly foreign to the practice of Attic tragedy, and even to the later usage of Rome. The metrical procedure of the Romans continued at all times singularly loose, and was far enough from observing the punctilious prescriptions and minute precision of their Attic precursors, but the negligence and indifference of the earlier tragedians in the construction of their metres transcended the inartistic privileges retained by subsequent poets, and rendered harmonious versification an impossibility.

Numerous instances are found in which every foot but the last is a spondee. For example,—

Ludens ad cantum classem lustratur. ° °

*Liv. Andron.*, p. 1, v. 6.

The last word, which is also the last foot, is lost. It must have been an iambus, but all the other feet are spondees.

Quacumque incedunt omnes arvas opterunt.

*Nævius*, p. 8, v. 24.

Quantis cum ærumnis illum exanclavi diem.

*Ennius*, p. 22, v. 90.

Sol qui candentem in cœlo sublimas facem.

*Ennius*, p. 40, v. 234.

Inter quos sæpe et multo inbutus sanguine.

*Attius*, p. 131, v. 151.

Virtuti sis par, dispar fortunis patris.

*Attius*, p. 131, v. 156.

Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me adpellere.

*Attius*, p. 239, v. 19.

To these may be added, although the first syllable is either long or short in "sacratum,"

Jovis sacratum jus jurandum sagmine.

*Incert. Incert.* p. 228, v. 219.

In other examples spondees do not occupy the first five places, but only preponderate over other feet in the line. Thus:—

- Procat, toleratis temploque hanc deducitis.  
*Liv. Andron. p. 2, v. 14.*  
 Mirum videtur quod sit factum jam diu.  
*Liv. Andron. p. 2, v. 15.*  
 Demittas, tanquam in fiscinam vindemitor.  
*Nævius, p. 5, v. 2.*  
 Erravi, post cognovi, et fugio cognitum.  
*Ennius, p. 25, 119.*  
 Set numquam scriptis, qui parentem aut hospitem.  
*Ennius, p. 32, v. 173.*  
 Cœpisset, quæ nunc nominatur nomine.  
*Ennius, p. 37, v. 208.*  
 Parentum incertum investigandum gratia.  
*Pacuvius, p. 67, v. 43.*  
 Dum quod sublime ventis expulsum rapit.  
*Attius, p. 158, v. 396.*

This excess of spondees renders the versification exceedingly cumbrous and awkward, but might have been necessitated by the superabundance of consonants in the older Latin, and the general intractability of the language, which still appeared rugged, poor, and unmanageable to Lucretius and Cicero, after all the manipulations and ameliorations of the tragedians. It is, moreover, probable that the prosody of the language was unsettled previous to the introduction of the drama, and that peculiarities of pronunciation which are now undiscoverable might have rendered tolerable what now appears as a hopeless fault.

But the evil just noticed did not exist alone, nor was it the gravest offence which was committed against a musical ear. The opposite licence is of even more frequent occurrence, and grates still more unpleasantly on the nerves, by giving a jolting, unsteady, irregular, and dislocated movement to the rhythm. There is not simply an extravagant employment of resolved feet—dactyls, tribrachs, and anapests—which, when multiplied, are less congenial to the spirit of the iambic trimeter than even the heavy tread of successive spondees; but their repetition, their loose aggregation, and their concurrence, render the melody discordant and the metre disorderly. This deformity is increased by the entire absence of either taste or discrimination in the introduction of such feet, one after the other, into any places of the verse. Horace may have alluded to the practice of these tragedians in their metrical labours when he attributed the process of verse-making to the dexterity of fingers and ears—*digito callemus et aure*. He was not very particular about the

niceties of versification in some of his own poems; but the early tragedians apparently trusted much more to the accuracy of their fingering than to the delicacy of their auricular perceptions. And even with this mechanical contrivance they seem to have sometimes lost their count, if they are not misrepresented by Ribbeck's exposition of their handiwork.

Similar licenses occur also in the trochaic measures; but for these modes the Latin language appears to have been endowed with a greater natural aptitude. Moreover, trochaic metres admit readily of greater licences than are tolerable in regular iambics. There is an inherent levity, a native flippancy, a spontaneous carelessness in the former which is incompatible with the flowing ease and dignity of the latter.

What proportion these licentious verses bore to the body of the plays from which they have been extracted cannot now be estimated. The inquiry is open only to vague conjecture, but from the rarity of pure iambics, from the constant inattention to the nicer rules of iambic versification, and from the disregard even of rhythmical requirements in the specimens which remain, as well as from the critical censures of the Romans of a better age, we may safely infer that we possess in these fragments a fair average sample of the ordinary tenor of early tragic versification.

Among the remains of Pacuvius and Attius may be found occasional verses worthy of the palmiest days of Latin poetry. The want of harmony in the majority of instances is, however, only partially assignable to the inartistic and unpolished character of the metres. Even in the lines already quoted, and still more in those which might be employed for the special illustration of this point, the frequency and awkwardness of the elisions, and the constant recurrence of uncoalescing consonants, is painfully manifested.

The latter peculiarity is characteristic of the language as it then existed, and cannot be attributed to the measure, and scarcely to the authors themselves. Another striking trait which we shall notice, appertains solely to the style and to the prevalent fashion, and is rather an affectation distinctive of a particular phase of literary taste than a singularity of these tragedians. It is, however, a caprice which is cultivated by them with especial earnestness, and is in them preëminently disagreeable. We refer to the evident rage for alliterations. These are continual, harsh, and often grotesque. Some languages and periods have employed alliteration as the main characteristic of their poetical systems. Nearly all languages have at different periods of their development cultivated them as exquisite ornaments. Usually this has happened in their literary infancy,



and we may have in these tragedians the surviving representatives of a previous general usage. There are traces in Greek poetry of the early existence of a similar caprice on the part of the lyric poets. Thus Diogenes Laertius reports an epigrammatic epitaph, variously attributed to Empedocles and to Simonides, whose point is much sharpened by its alliterative expression :—

\* Ἀκρον ἰσητρὸν \* Ἀκρων, \* Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατὴρ ὁ ἄκρον,  
κρύπτε κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.°

We hazard the following paraphrase, which reproduces most of its distinctive traits, even to its hexameter and pentameter measure :—

“ Here a sharp doctor of Sharpville, one Sharp, sharper son of a sharper,  
Lieth beneath a sharp hill—sharp in the sharpest of lands.”

The Greek epigram is signalized by smoothness, acuteness, and wit ; but the tragic alliterations are recommended or discredited by fantastic whimsicality alone.

There are so few points to which we can accord the elucidation rendered by citations, and so little room that can be spared for the purpose, that we shall confine our selection to a few of the more glaring examples, and refer to the work reviewed for more numerous, less offensive, and more trivial exemplifications of this bad taste. Here are a few ears as an earnest of the harvest :—

Cave sis tuam contendas iram contra cum ira Liberi.

Nevius, p. 9, v. 41.

Optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti me : hoc dolet.

Enn. p. 18, v. 46.

Serupeo investita saxo, atque ostreis squamæ scabrent.

Enn. p. 23, v. 100.

Corpus contemplatur unde corporaret vulnere.

Enn. p. 23, v. 101.

° ° Stultust, qui cupita cupiens cupienter cupit.

Enn. p. 43, v. 256.

Quam tibi ex ore orationem duriter dictis dedit.

Enn. p. 44, v. 265.

Qui alteri exitium parat,

Eum seire oportet, sibi paratum pestem ut participet parem.

Enn. p. 51, vv. 321, 322.

Pro incertis certos compotesque consili.

Enn. p. 55, v. 352.

Umquam quidquam quisquam cuiquam quod ei conveniat, neget.

Enn. p. 61, v. 400.

Hiat sollicita, studio obstupida, suspensio animo civitas.

Pacuv. p. 68, v. 53.

Quo consilio consternatur, qua vi, cujus copiis.

Pacuv. p. 80, v. 156.

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° Bergkh, Poet. Lyr. Gr. Ed. 2da., p. 468 Diog. Laert. viii, 65.

Lassitudinemque minuat manuum mollitudine.

*Pacuv.* p. 90, v. 246.

Periere Danaï, plera pars pessum datur.

*Pacuv.* p. 98, v. 320

Cum patre parvos patrium hostifice

Sanguine sanguen miscere suo.

*Att.* p. 123, vv. 82, 83.

An mala ætate mavis male mulcari exemplis omnibus.

*Att.* p. 123, v. 85.

Probis probatum potius quam multis fore.

*Att.* p. 149, v. 314.

Primores procerum provocavit nomine.

*Att.* p. 150, v. 325.

Gaudent, currunt, celebrant, herbam conferunt, donant, tenent,

Pro se quisque cum corona clarum cohonestat caput.

*Att.* p. 164, vv. 444, 445.

Simul et circum magna sonantibus

Excita saxis suavisona echo

Crepitu clangente cachinat.

*Att.* p. 179, vv. 571, 572.

Tuum conjecturam postulat pacem petens.

° ° ° ° °

Apollo, puerum primus Priamo qui foret.

*Incert. Incert.* p. 201, vv. 10-14.

Quod ni Palamedi perspicax prudentia.

*Incert. Incert.*, p. 206, v. 58.

Assuredly this is an ample collection of specimens to demonstrate the licentious employment of alliteration by the whole range of the tragedians before the Augustan age. This affectation naturally superinduces other fantasies, which are also exhibited in the above quotations.

Notwithstanding the defects and the asperities of the versification, and numerous other grave anomalies of expression, there are qualities discernible even in these fragmentary particles of the old Roman tragedy which are exceedingly attractive, and readily explain those lingering predilections for this antiquated literature which were ridiculed and assailed by Horace.\* There is a healthy Roman honesty and manliness in the sentiments announced: a quaint but dignified gravity and solemnity of utterance which well befitted the conquerors of the world: an intuitive sagacity and a keen appreciation of life which reappear in Tacitus, and irradiate even the scandal of Suetonius and the trashy *niaiserie*s of the Augustan historians, and are revived in more than their pristine intensity and acumen in Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and the

\* Hor. Epist. lib. ii, Ep. i, vv. 50-92. The general good sense of Horace's criticisms can be recognised even from these fragments of the elder literature, and renders their pointed indications valuable.

great statesmen, publicists, and diplomatists of Italy. We detect, moreover, a genial freshness and a racy vigour, whose absence in the Augustan classics is poorly compensated by the splendid refinements of consummate art. These old dramatists still exhale the air and the simplicity of rural Roman life, before it had been supplanted or infected by metropolitan graces and artificial pretensions, and which are more inspiring than the prim, stately, and precise elegances of an over-exquisite cultivation. As the old French of Rabelais, Montaigne, Marguerite de Valois, Ronsard, and Marot has a natural and genial charm which is denied to the cramped and chilly perfection of Racine, Boileau, La Rochefoucault, and La Bruyère, so these loose disjointed fragments of the elder tragedy possess attractions which are not preserved in the more regular and prudish proprieties of Virgil and Horace. The indications afforded even in this collection would tempt us to resign, without hesitation, the last six books of the *Æneid*, in spite of the universal and enduring fame of that admired epic, for the poem of Nævius on the First Punic War, and the *Annals* of Ennius.

We are neither so uncultivated in our tastes, nor so indiscreet in our judgment as to pretend to institute any equivalence or comparison between the rude vigour of the ancient and the finished perfection of the Augustan poets; but we would expect to find in Nævius and Ennius a bolder vein of original poetry, a greater exuberance of poetic feeling, than can be recognised in the erudite and laborious imitations of Virgil. Independent, too, of these literary merits, the primitive poetic annals would possess great interest in the elucidation of the history of both the people and the language. Our consent to the sacrifice intimated is not, however, suggested by such historical and philological considerations, but solely by the desire to possess the earliest specimens of the Roman epos, and a partiality for the strength, energy, and simplicity of the older literature. In all departments of art, notwithstanding the greater beauties introduced by higher culture and embodied in the master-works of the meridian age, there are merits peculiar to the antecedent periods, which are not fully compensated by the riper and chaster graces of the more polished age. Even now, with the opportunity of a minute comparison, having equal means of estimating each and being equally familiar with both, we would not resign *Æschylus* to save *Sophocles*, if an option were required; and if the choice should be offered between *Æschylus* and *Euripides*, we would cordially reaffirm the decision rendered by *Bacchus* in the *Frogs* of *Aristophanes*.\*

Ἐκρίνα νικᾶν Ἀισχύλον, τῇ γὰρ οὐ;

\* *Aristoph. Ran. v. 1469.* Ed. Bekker. Lond.

We should be pleased to illustrate by direct citation the characteristics of Roman Tragedy which have been hurriedly indicated if our space would permit the undertaking. We should be gratified to exhibit the lofty sentiments, the acute maxims, the sententious wisdom, the pregnant utterance, and, above all, the exhilarating freshness of these old tragedians. This last peculiarity is often indicated by slight touches which must be felt spontaneously to be adequately recognised: there are but few examples remaining which, taken by themselves, directly indicate the spirit with which they are impregnated; but these are so characteristic, so accordant with the general tone of the utterance—so utterly foreign to the Greek mind, except in the single case of Homer—that we may safely ascribe the qualities evinced by them to the general tenor of the original portions of these productions when they still existed unmutated.

A few of these examples we shall venture to quote:—

Hoc vide circum supraque quod complexu continet  
Terram  
Solisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret,  
Id quod nostri cælum memorant, Graii perhibet æthera:  
Quidquid est hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,  
Sepelit recipitque ni sese omnia, omniumque idem est pater,  
Indidemque eadem quæ oriuntur, de integro atque eodem occidunt.\*

With the philosophy, good or bad, propounded in these lines we have no present concern; the sole thing to which we are desirous of calling attention is the close observance of nature and the sympathy with her changes which they display.

Here is a solitary line which could scarcely have been written by one not intimately familiar with rustic life, or without a genial interest in its trivial incidents.

Item ac mæstitiam mutam infantum quadrupedum.†

We doubt whether the habitual resident of a great city can appreciate this notice of the dumb suffering and agony of infant beasts. It is a spectacle sufficiently striking to affect the imagination and excite the sympathy of persons who have spent much of their lives in the country. The silent anguish, the look of helpless pain manifested by some of the domestic animals are well calculated to elicit a mournful pity.

But the most marked of these passages is one which we believe to be altogether unique in the whole series of the still surviving productions of Roman literature. It seems to have made a very

\* Trag. Lat. Reliqui.: p. 71, 72, vv. 86-92. Chryses. Frag. vi.

† Trag. Lat. Reliqui.: p. 149, v. 315. Attii Epinansimache, Fr. vi.

strong impression on the mind of Cicero, by whom it has been preserved, though without commemoration of the author.\*

Coelum nitescere, arbores frondescere,  
Vites latificæ pampinis pubescere,  
Rami baccharum ubertate incurvescere,  
Segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia,  
Fontes scatere, herbis prata convestirier.

The language is inharmonious and negligent enough, and has its full share of affectations, but there is nothing in either the *Bucolics* or the *Georgics* of Virgil which is as redolent of the fragrance of the forest and the field, or which brings home to us more forcibly the aspects of rural life and the genial vicissitudes of the changing year. The subject and the form of expression may excite a doubt whether these verses are of tragic or even of dramatic origin, or do not rather belong to a lyric poem or a song of harvest home. The latter supposition is strengthened by their consonance with the rustic feeling of poetry which manifests itself in the phrases reported by Cicero, "*gemmare vites*," "*luxuriam esse in herbis*," "*latus segetes*,"† and mentioned by him in connexion with a passing allusion to one of these lines. Still, M. Ribbeck has received them as a genuine tragic relic, and as such we accept them for the reason previously stated. Whatever their origin may be, they are animated with that healthy, genial, lively, observant and affectionate regard for the scenes of nature which so pre-eminently characterizes the Provençal songs.

We were the more anxious to note this feature in the ancient Latin poetry, inasmuch as it is so foreign to its classical productions, which paint nature too often with the fancy of a Cockney. Moreover, this element is distinctly of Roman and not of Greek origin. At the outset of these remarks, we spoke in such sharp terms of derision of the derivative and Hellenic character of the whole body of Latin literature, and of Latin tragedy in particular, that we are glad to mitigate that censure, as far as may be consistent with the facts, by directing attention to the evidences of a genuine and native poetic tendency, in a form so meritorious and so rare among the ancients.

Humboldt‡ has remarked the deficiency of sympathetic appreciation of the detailed beauties of nature on the part of both the Greeks and the Romans, but the passages cited, and others of a similar complexion which may be gathered from this repertory of mangled skeletons, may suggest that there was a period of Roman development, and a branch of Roman literature, wherein the Roman poets

\* Trag. Lat. Rel.: p. 217, vv. 133-7. Inc. Inc. Fab. Fr. lxxii. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I., xxviii, sec. 69.

† Cic. De Or. III, xxxviii, sec. 155.

‡ Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. ii, p. 373. Ed. Bohn.

freely yielded to the hearty influences of the country life still habitual with the people, and reproduced its teachings in their artistic labours.

There is neither opportunity nor necessity to give utterance to all the reflections suggested by this volume, "car qui pourrait dire tout sans un mortel ennui?" Much forbearance and some discretion must always be exercised in repressing the observations which seek expression in relation to any subject. We have announced only a few of the views which have presented themselves to us on the present occasion; but they may suffice to give a satisfactory response to the question with which we commenced these remarks, and to show that many instructive lessons may be acquired even from the shattered relics of an antiquated, extinct, and almost forgotten department of literature. Very many of these lessons we have passed over in silence; the most important we have exhibited only briefly—so briefly as to afford only a limited insight into their character and use. Nevertheless, enough has been said to render intelligible the acknowledgment of our gratification at receiving the fruits of Otto Ribbeck's labours, notwithstanding they are burdened with the erudite and cumbrous divinations of his imaginative commentary.

Is it not a remarkable and mournful exemplification of the perishable nature of every human device, and of the evanescence of even high intellectual triumphs, that a copious body of literature, which won even the fastidious admiration of Cicero, and the partial homage of Virgil and Horace, and formed at one time the most refined enjoyment of a great people, should have been so completely dissipated by the changes of literary taste and the accidents of time, as to be reduced to these scanty and petty memorials of their former glory?

Shrine of the mighty! can it be  
That this is all remains of thee?

The longest of these fragments does not exceed a dozen lines—many of them consist of only a single verse, and in numerous instances the solitary verse is incomplete, or is reduced to a phrase or a word. The aggregate of these remains, capable of being exhibited under a metrical aspect, does not attain to two thousand lines, in this collection. This is all that has been saved from the wreck of the ante-Augustan tragedy of Rome, and constitutes the *Tragicorum Latinorum Reliquiæ*.

We have only to add that the work is beautifully printed on excellent paper, and is a very handsome specimen of the improved typography and preparation of recent German publications.



## ART. V.—ROBERT NEWTON.

*The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D. D.* By THOMAS JACKSON. New-York: Carlton & Phillips. 1855.

"BOSWELL," says Macaulay, "is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly, that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere."

It is one of the strange things in literature—a real phenomenon—that in all the "Lives" of great men and small, learned and unlearned, good and bad, there are so few interesting, readable, and instructive biographies. Instead of what we want to know of a man, about whom or concerning whose actions or the results of whose course of life we feel an interest, we are furnished, by his biographer, with a *resumé* of the history of the times in which he lived; philosophical speculations on government; the rise and fall of empires; essays on the wordy warfare of the sects; or a rhapsodical eulogy on the real or fancied greatness of his subject. All, or nearly all, that we know about him, after reading from five hundred to a thousand pages, more than we knew before, is the precise time of his birth, and, it may be, some particular circumstances attending his death. Perhaps we may learn that on some day he went without his supper—what many a one has often done—and that by drinking a cup of green tea instead of black, he was kept awake when he very much desired to sleep.

It is supposed, and with reason, too, when one man undertakes to write a "life" of another, that he has materials for the biography; else why undertake it? If what was upon the surface only, and what consequently was known to all, is to be thrown together in compilation, why tax our pockets for what we already possess? A "life," in an important sense, is an original work. It is a compilation not from published documents merely, but from the private records of the subject, now no longer of use to him, and from the memoranda of friends. It is a revelation to the multitude of what was known before only to the few. The writer of a "life" either has the necessary materials for his work or he has not. If he has them not he has no moral right to publish what purports to be a biography, when, in fact, it is not. Such a practice is false pretense in literature; and the author, if he be not sent to Newgate, is subject to what perhaps is more annoying to him—the castigation of the

critics. If he has the materials and a good subject, and fails in his undertaking, he has missed his calling; whatever else he does, he had better not write "lives."

It is much to be regretted that the biographies of those whose example is worthy of imitation should be deficient in what gives to such compositions one of their greatest charms—incidents and illustrations of life; especially because, in spite of such defects, they are sought after with avidity and read by all classes of persons. Law-books find their way mostly into the untidy, smoky offices of the profession. Polemic divinity, elaborate essays on Church dogmas, and old sermons, interlarded with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, borrowed from the books, go to the shelves of clergymen, for the most part, where quite generally their slumbers are profound and undisturbed. Philosophy is taught in the schools; but only a few schoolmen read philosophy. Not so with biography; that is read by men, women, and children. There is a reason for this; indeed there is a deep philosophy in the fact: biography is the written life of man. We have consequently an interest in it of which we cannot divest ourselves if we would, and of which we would not if we could. Besides, the design of biography is to show us how to live by showing us how others lived. If it does not do this it fails in an important essential.

What we want, and what we expect, in the biography of a man whose talents, virtues, position, and achievements were such as to make his history necessary or desirable, is to know how he developed those talents; how he cultivated and fostered those virtues; by what means he obtained his position, and how he accomplished his achievements. The privacies of life, the inner man, the thoughts, the actions, the words, the freaks, the beauties and deformities of his social life; his manner of life in his own house, his carriage towards his wife, his habits with his children, his hours of study; his authors, how he used them and what he thought of them; his preparation for public life; the labour and time required for this preparation; adventitious circumstances and incidents, all these are bargained for in the purchase of the "life" of a good and great man. During the occupancy of a mansion we may look unbidden upon its external beauties and magnificent proportions. Without the owner's permission or invitation we may not cross its threshold: but if, when he is gone, his executor opens the doors, and admits us on fee, we have a right to see the house within. And we should not be satisfied to enter the front door and simply pass through the main hall to the back door, and out. He, without a further exhibition, would not fulfil his implied contract. No more does the writer of a "life"

meet his obligation to furnish the biography of a great public man upon whom, as he appeared in full dress upon the stage for more than half a century, we have been wont to gaze with admiration, by merely telling us when he was born and when he died, and that for thirty, forty, or fifty years he laboured hard, travelled far, preached much, did good, and made many warm friends.

These deficiencies are more marked, probably, in religious biographies than any other. And it is in such biographies that the requirements of society demand the fullest details and the greatest perfection.

Take one instance in proof of the correctness of the above remark. John Wesley was born in 1703; Samuel Johnson was born in 1709. But to this day we have no satisfactory life of Wesley. The best we have—and good, very good, we grant—is his own journal. Before Wesley died, and in anticipation of that event, Hampson, who was indebted to him for bread, and education, and position, had prepared a catch-penny life of his former patron and friend. Coke and Moore, that they might anticipate Whitehead, prepared hastily a life of the founder of Methodism, which is important, mainly, as a connecting link in the history of the times. Whitehead's biography of Wesley—the better portion of it—is a kind of mathematical twice-two-are-four life; the other portion of it is distorted by the prejudice of the author. Moore's life is, to a considerable extent, too identical with Whitehead's to be of special importance, except in its documents, which are valuable for reference. Southey, whose biography, in many respects, is the best and worst that has yet appeared, viewed Mr. Wesley from a wrong stand-point, and judged him by a wrong philosophy. It is no marvel, therefore, that his *Life of Wesley* is not Wesley's life. Watson's *Wesley* was not designed to be a comprehensive biography, but a review of Southey, and a defence of the man whose memory and reputation were dear to him. As such it is able and conclusive. Now all these lives together—and much less any one of them—do not give us a complete history of John Wesley. Such a life we need, a work that will find its way into all libraries; a work that will present Wesley, the preacher, the reformer, the founder, the scholar, the author, the publisher, the evangelist, the executive officer, the friend and benefactor of the poor; Wesley the MAN, interspersed and enlivened with the varying and interesting incidents and anecdotes lying all along the pathway of his eventful life, from his escape from the burning rectory, till, in accordance with his own directions, he is carried by four poor men to his grave. The world needs such a work. The children of Methodist parents demand it. Who, of all his sons, will furnish it?

Now while this is the case with one of the greatest religious men that ever lived, how is it with Johnson the moralist, who was contemporary with him? The *Life of Johnson* is without an equal. It informs us how he read and how he wrote. We see him in his room with his cat and companions. His tricks and fanaticisms are all brought out. His indulgences and subsequent regrets and confessions are not withheld. Johnson in rags, eating his dinner behind screens; writing for bread, and subsequently accomplishing one of the greatest literary enterprises ever undertaken by man; Johnson in his midnight disputation and morning slumbers; Johnson, in short, in all his peculiarities—his virtues and his faults—is so fully presented to us that we see him as he was. Even his physical form is impressed upon our minds. Without the aid of the artist's pencil we have his picture before us. The *Life of Johnson* grows not tame. We never weary in its perusal. After reading through volumes purporting to be biographies, we turn to Boswell's *Johnson* with increasing delight.

We must, however, check this train of thought; and, instead of dwelling upon what we want, turn our attention to the volume named at the head of this article.

It is a rule with some critics to speak in the first place in as high praise as they can of the work they review, that they may thereby placate the disposition of their author so that he will the more kindly receive what fault they have to find with his production. We pursue just the opposite course to this. We find what fault we have to find with Newton's *Life* at once. If the estimable author and the friends of Mr. Newton, on both sides of the water, shall be displeased with us therefor we shall regret that, but console ourselves with the consciousness of honesty and fairness in our review.

The work abounds in panegyric. The author at times is quite rhapsodical in his eulogy. Take the following as an instance:—

"When the service had concluded many of the people still lingered, apparently unwilling to leave the spot; thus exemplifying the feeling which Milton has ascribed to the father of the human race after he had listened to the discourse of a heavenly messenger:—

"The angel ended, and in Adam's ear  
So charming left his voice, that he awhile  
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear."—Pp. 200, 201.

Robert Newton, while he tabernacled in the flesh, could hardly have been aware of the possession of such angelic power. And, with our exalted conceptions of his pulpit eloquence, we think the picture is somewhat overdrawn.

While Newton's Life abounds in eulogy it is barren in incident. For fifty years he was itinerating—visiting various parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; travelling by sea and land, by public and private conveyance, and thrown, as we may suppose, into nearly all conceivable circumstances in life. He must have been the subject of many adventures. Pleasing and varying incident must have been ever and anon occurring in his history. Incidents enough of this kind to make a small volume must have happened in connexion with that annual visit to Derby! Yet we look in vain for them. There are a few anecdotes in the volume, and those are so interesting that they make us wish for more. But throughout the entire work incidents and anecdotes are, like angel's visits, few and far between.

In the chapter containing the account of Mr. Newton's visit to America, a number of errors occur, some of which we must correct. Mr. Jackson says, that at the church where Newton delivered his first sermon in New-York Mr. Souter, his travelling companion, was "*allowed* to sit within the communion rails—an honour which he found is not *conceded* to laymen in the American churches." (P. 193.) This is a subject we never hear agitated. Our laymen have no desire to sit within the altar, as we say in this country, except when they conduct prayer-meetings, or when the audience-room is crowded. No *allowing* and no *conceding* are thought of. The design in this case was to treat Mr. Souter, as a stranger and travelling companion of Mr. Newton, politely, and to give him a seat where he could be more comfortable than in a crowded pew.

At the missionary meeting in the Greene-street Church, after Mr. Newton had spoken, "an aged man," says Mr. Jackson, "from the country, wiped the tears from his eyes with the sleeve of his coat, saying, to the person who sat next to him, 'we shall have no powder ware now, I guess.'" (P. 194.) It seems a pity to spoil the salt-water rhetoric and upland rusticity of this sentence. Still it may be best to do it. The "aged man from the country" was a venerable minister and presiding elder of a large district, and was present to participate in the pleasures of the missionary meeting. It is highly probable, though he was from the country, that he had a handkerchief, and knew its ordinary uses. "*Powdery ware*" is language he would not use when he meant to say *powder war*. At the time of this meeting the political relations of Great Britain and the United States were much disturbed, growing out of the boundary question. The "wordy war" was already pretty sharp. Mr. Newton, in his address, spoke of the Christian regard of the people of England for the people of this country—the importance to Chris-

tianity of the union of the two nations—and the salutations with which he was charged as a delegate to the people whom he addressed. It was upon Mr. Newton's warm expression of such kindly feelings that the gentleman said to his neighbour on the platform, "we shall have no *powder war*,"—implying that our difficulties, if such were the feelings and views of the people of England, would all be settled by diplomacy. His remarks showed his just appreciation of the Christianity of the two nations, and his own desire for the greatest of all national blessings,—peace, based upon recognised constitutional right.

A slight and laughable mistake, according to Mr. Jackson, occurred in connexion with Mr. Newton's first visit to Philadelphia:—

"Before the service commenced Mr. Souter was introduced within the communion rails in front of the pulpit, and was mistaken, by the immense assembly, for Mr. Newton. The choir had prepared an anthem, which they intended to sing in honour of the distinguished stranger and as a welcome to their city. This they sang in their best style, the congregation joining as well as they were able, and all looking at Mr. Souter, who felt that he was receiving the respect which did not belong to him, and which the people did not intend to pay him; they probably wondering that he should betray any signs of uneasiness. When the anthem was finished, Mr. Newton entered the church and ascended the pulpit, and the choristers and people perceived that they had mistaken their man; but it was too late to correct the error. When the service was ended and the case was stated to Mr. Newton, he was highly amused, and said to his friend Souter, 'You have taken the shine off me.'"—Pp. 196, 197.

We can fancy that Mr. Souter's position must have been embarrassing enough, and it was not good treatment to put him in such a position. A few words of explanation will change the whole thing. In the first place it was the children of the Sabbath school, and not the choir, that sung the hymn of welcome on the occasion. In the second place, Mr. Newton had been conducted to the pulpit by the pastor of the church, and furnished with a copy of the hymn. At the close he expressed his pleasure with the mark of respect shown him by the little ones. The friends of Mr. Newton may rest assured that the Philadelphians did not allow even Mr. Souter to "take the shine off" of him while he was in their keeping.

Mr. Newton, having been introduced to the General Conference, "a vote was passed," says Mr. Jackson, "authorizing him to sit in the conference, and to *vote on all questions that might arise*." (P. 198.) The General Conference might invite Mr. Newton to a seat among its members and to participate in their discussions; but it could not authorize him to vote. The General Conference is a delegated and law-making body. The members hold their seats by the election of the annual conferences. A single vote may carry most important



temporal and spiritual results. Even the bishops can claim no right to vote. We make this correction lest some, not conversant with the proceedings of the General Conference, should suppose it has a loose way of doing its business.

The following passage, without design we may readily believe, does injustice both to the General Conference of 1840 and to Mr. Newton:—

“In the progress of the Conference Mr. Newton was impressed with the fact, that the time was mainly occupied by the speeches of young men, ministers of age and experience being scarcely able to obtain a hearing. Availing himself, therefore, of a favourable opportunity, he spoke of the respect which is due to age, and especially to aged ministers, who have been long familiar with the work of God, and whose range of observation has been widely extended. These are the men, he observed, who are eminently qualified to give advice in ecclesiastical affairs; for their counsels are not speculative, but practical. The bishops shed tears under this seasonable address, and no one attempted any reply.”—P. 199.

We remark here, that the members of the General Conference do not hold their seats by seniority. They are all elected by their annual conferences, which of course they are expected to represent. One member, therefore, has the same rights on the floor of the General Conference that another has. And no member, even out of deference to age and position, would be justified in neglecting to present and defend the views and wishes of those who elected him. It is the annual conference that appears in the persons of its delegates on the floor of the General Conference.

Mr. Jackson says, “the time was *mainly* occupied by the speeches of young men, ministers of age and experience being scarcely able to obtain a hearing.” We know not from what source Mr. Jackson derived his information, nor is it important to our purpose to know. It is to be presumed, however, as these “young men” presented a “very respectable appearance,” and “were highly intelligent,” that for the most part they were well-bred persons, and understood the proprieties of place. And, knowing somewhat the spirit and bearing of our younger and middle-aged ministers, we have no doubt while, like true Americans—blessings on them!—they thought, spoke, and acted with entire freedom, conscious of their rights, and under a proper sense of their responsibilities, they were, at the same time, respectful and courteous toward their more aged brethren and fathers in the conference. Besides, we cannot see how it was that the “ministers of experience” were “scarcely able to obtain a hearing,” when the tenth rule of the General Conference requires that no person shall “speak more than once” on the same question “until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.”

We suppose Mr. Jackson uses a little rhetoric when he says that "the bishops shed tears under this seasonable address." Our bishops know their younger ministers too well, and receive from them—as other chief ministers and fathers do—too much deference to feel that a public address, on the respect due to age and experience—and that from a stranger too—would be necessary for them, or that they would consider such an address so "seasonable" as to "shed tears under it." Had Mr. Newton delivered such an address before the General Conference, designing it as a rebuke to the younger portion of the members, we very much mistake the bishops if they would not have been among the first to rebuke it. In such a case they might—and it would be no marvel—shed tears *over* the address. And the reasons why, in such circumstances, "no one would attempt any reply" are quite obvious.

This passage, as we remark above, does, we think, injustice to Mr. Newton. Naughty as the younger members of the General Conference of 1840 may have been, Mr. Newton was too much of the Christian gentleman to offer them reproof for what did not especially concern him. If they forgot the proprieties of place we are not willing to suppose that he did. His intercourse with his brethren, both in and out of the conference, during his whole sojourn among us, was gentlemanly and Christian in an eminent degree. If the passage quoted above were from the pen of a political writer, we should understand at once that it was written for political effect. Did Mr. Jackson design it especially for the younger members of the British Conference?

Mr. Newton's ministry in America was attended by large multitudes of hearers. But popular assemblies are generally over estimated as to numbers. Those acquainted with the places in which he preached will make a liberal deduction from the numbers reported to have been present. We refer to these things because, though they may seem small in themselves, they are not unimportant. In the life of such a man as Dr. Newton, whatever is not entirely true has no place. The partiality of friends, or the want of a comprehensive view of all the circumstances of time and place, may often lead the best meaning persons into erroneous conclusions, and to make false estimates.

As Mr. Newton's *Life* will have an extensive circulation in this country, it will not be amiss to notice his views on two or three points connected with our history and economy.

In writing to Mrs. Newton from Baltimore, he says:—

"I have refused all invitations to attend temperance and abolition meetings. Both parties are so violent and ultra, that I cannot but conclude they will

defeat their own design. There is also a great deal of what we call 'radicalism' connected with abolition movements. I have spoken freely in the conference on the subject; and I hope that what I have said may have some influence on what is here termed the 'action' of the conference."—P. 211.

At the time Mr. Newton was here there was no little excitement in the Church on the subject of abolition. It was thought also that there was much "radicalism" connected with the abolition movement; in consequence of which strong fears were entertained lest it should divide the Church. In pursuing the course which he adopted, therefore, on this subject, he no doubt acted in accordance with his own judgment under the advice of friends. But time has dissipated those fears, and shown that, in the odious sense of the term, there was little radicalism among those who deplored the "great evil of slavery" and laboured to "extirpate it." The "radicals" proved to be the apologists and abettors of slavery. So that, after the General Conference of 1844, the great secession took place, with Bishop Soule at its head; since which the branches of the tall pine of Maine have been draped in the funeral moss of the South.

We are aware that many of our English brethren take different views of the subject of temperance from those prevalent among us. Mr. Newton "concluded" that our temperance men were so "violent and ultra" that they would defeat their own design. He saw, however, long before his death, it is presumed, that that conclusion was not well-founded. The enactment of prohibitory laws in so many of the states is a cheering sign and a glorious reward for those who have laboured long and earnestly in this great and important reform. The time has come when there are few, if any, congregations in all our extended work whose pastors could use beer or wine—not to mention stronger drinks—as a beverage, and maintain their standing as evangelical ministers for a single day. We hope the time will soon come when it shall be so on the other side of the Atlantic.

Much has been said, in the older portions of the work especially, about our districts and the presiding eldership. The inquiry is often raised, "Can we not adopt the English plan?" Mr. Newton's opinion on this subject, as expressed to the General Conference and recorded in his Life, is worthy of consideration. We embrace also his remarks concerning the episcopacy. He says:—

"I have heard incidental allusions to 'moderate episcopacy;' but if yours be not a moderate episcopacy, I do not know what makes one. If there be a prayer for moderate episcopacy, it is already granted. And as to your presiding eldership, I have been asked whether it could not be altered for the better; and whether our system of district chairmen might not be more eligible. In dense and populous districts, perhaps, it might be so; but as a general plan in

your country it would be utterly impracticable. Your system has done well; and again I say, 'Let well alone.'—P. 213.

Mr. Newton's opinion respecting the great value of class-meetings may be inferred from his remarks upon the results of Mr. Whitefield's labours in America. He observes :—

"It is remarkable that not an orphan-house, a church, or a society, founded by Whitefield, remains; while the Wesleyans number between seven and eight hundred thousand members, and upward of three thousand ministers. *But Whitefield did not institute class-meetings, and Wesley did.*"—P. 197.

We now pass to a brief notice of the history and labours of Mr. Newton.

The parents of Mr. Newton were of "yeoman descent, tall, comely, and well-favoured in their personal appearance." They possessed a sound and vigorous understanding, and surpassed in intelligence the greater part of their contemporaries in the same walks of life. They occupied a farm in Roxby—a hamlet on the coast, between Whitby and Guisborough—in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Here they spent their time in honest industry, supplying their wants from the soil which they cultivated and the flocks which they reared and tended. Mr. Jackson gives us a pretty picture of yeoman life in England. We see the hamlet resting on the coast; the waters of the North Sea spreading out to the east, and traversed by water-craft of various descriptions, plying between the Tyne, the Humber, and the Thames. Removed from the gaieties of the capital, the din of Newcastle, the commerce of Liverpool, and the smoke of Birmingham and Manchester, we can almost feel the quiet that gathers around Roxby and its adjacent districts, as Francis Newton, happy in the esteem of his neighbours, goes forth to till the soil and tend his flocks and herds. Who that has ever seen rural life in its simplicity; that has heard the lowing of cattle and the bleating of flocks; that has watched the gambols of lambs; that has breathed the fragrant air of the hay-field as the newly-mown crop of grass is gathering into the stack or barn; that has followed the meanderings of the little rill, fertilizing the vale through which it runs; that has listened to the music of uncaged birds; that has drunk in the inspiration of the early morning, all instinct and radiant with new life and beauty; that has communed at eventide, in the field, with Nature and with Nature's God, has not been charmed with pastoral life?

In their pleasant home the parents of Robert Newton said their prayers and attended to many religious duties; still they lived without the consciousness of sin forgiven, and without a good Chris-

tian hope of heaven. At this time Roxby was visited by Rev. James Rogers, husband of Hester Ann Rogers, whose biography has been so extensively read in this country, and which has been so useful to many Christians. Mr. Rogers offered up prayer in Mr. Newton's habitation. A little while after the Rev. John King preached in his barn. Soon he read the "Journal of John Nelson." Mr. and Mrs. Newton both began to feel the need of something to make them happy beyond what they possessed. They betook themselves to prayer—they wept, they made supplication to God. They believed, and they received the salvation of the Gospel. They entered upon a new life. Their house became a regular appointment on the Whitby Circuit. There henceforth, once a fortnight, on a week-day evening, the word of God was preached. Many of the people heard and believed. A class was formed, and Mr. Newton became the devoted and efficient leader. It was from such parentage, placed in such circumstances, that Robert Newton sprung.

Robert Newton was born September 8th, 1780, and was dedicated to God in baptism on the eleventh of the same month. He possessed a fine disposition and was a fearless, energetic boy. We find him engaged in the ordinary labour of a farmer for a number of years; at the same time, availing himself of all the educational advantages within his reach, he made commendable proficiency in his studies. He next engaged with a Mr. Sigworth of Stokeby, who carried on the business of a "draper, grocer, and druggist." Here his health failed him and his spirits began to droop. Returning to his father's house, he resumed his labour on the farm—an "employment more congenial with his constitution and the habits which he had formed."

But here, amid the scenes of his childhood and the pleasures of home, his heart was not at rest. He knew not God. He was inclined to entertain the infidel notions of Paine, not from conviction of their soundness, it may well be presumed, but from the fondness of novelty, not uncommon in the fickleness and restlessness of the period of life to which he had now arrived. At the same time the stirring accounts of military valour which the papers contained, and the menacing of England by France, fired his imagination. He enrolled himself with a company of volunteers and learned the sword exercise. Then his heart was set upon entering the regular service. But the "authority of the father over him was complete; and by that authority the wayward youth was effectually restrained from his purpose."

The time had now come when Robert, yielding to religious con-

victions, embraced the faith of the Gospel. The years 1797 and 1798 were seasons of gracious revivals of religion on the Whitby Circuit. Sinners were converted, wanderers from God were reclaimed, and large accessions were made to the Wesleyan societies. "During this season of visitation," says his biographer, "Robert Newton was made a partaker of the salvation from sin which the Gospel reveals, and fully entered upon the enjoyments, the duties, and the conflicts of the Christian life." (P. 12.)

It is proper to observe here that Robert Newton's conversion was marked. The former preaching of Mr. Kershaw, and the kind religious conversation of that minister with him, in his monthly visit, as a herald of the cross, to his father's house, had made a deep impression upon his mind. Now the Holy Spirit called up those impressions and reproduced conviction. His sorrow was deep, and continued for nine weeks. Prayers were offered up for him. The pious people of the neighbourhood felt great interest in his case; yet he did not find peace of mind. The blessing, however, was at hand. He entered into his room; his sister Ann, a penitent and a seeker, like himself, went with him into this place of earnest pleading with God. There they "unitedly wrestled with the Lord in prayer;" there they obtained power from on high; and there, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1798, peace and joy sprung up in their hearts.

There has been much controversy in the Church respecting ministerial qualifications. It is scarcely worth the while to waste breath and strength on this subject; the history of the Church seems clearly to settle the question. In olden time God called his prophets from the different walks and pursuits of life. He did the same in the early apostolic Church. Mr. Wesley was led providentially to call to his aid helpers in the same circumstances and condition of life. He selected men fresh from the people, full of faith, and zealous for God, to be assistants in the great work which he was raised up to accomplish; those thus selected, by their gifts, grace, and usefulness, gave full proof that they were called of God.

Robert Newton, soon after his conversion, begins to pray in public, and exhort his neighbours to seek God. In a little while he is on the "Plan," as a local preacher, and begins his long and glorious ministerial career by announcing as his first text, "*We preach Christ crucified*:" "a subject," says Mr. Jackson, "to which he adhered with unswerving fidelity to the end of his ministerial life."

Just here we must make an extract from Mr. Toase. He calls up earlier days and writes *con amore*. Speaking of Mr. Newton, he says:—



"At the very beginning he was popular and useful. Though young, his appearance was manly, and there was a noble bearing in all that he said and did. It was evident, even at that time, that he was intended to fill no ordinary place among the ambassadors of Christ. I was younger than he, and always looked up to him with admiration, and often followed him to places where he exercised his early ministry. He had not been long on the preacher's plan, before he was called to occupy the principal pulpits of the circuit; and in all cases his labours were highly acceptable. O, those were happy days! We were simple-minded and sincere. We loved as brethren, and were of one heart and soul, and thought no sacrifice too great for the advancement of the cause in which we had embarked."

In the July following his conversion he was recommended to the conference as a travelling preacher. He was accepted and appointed to the Pocklington Circuit. Here he laboured with zeal and great acceptance. His circuit contained many agricultural villages and hamlets, where the service was generally conducted in private houses, barns, and carpenter-shops. While Mr. Newton was labouring on this circuit he was not without those temptations which most men have in similar circumstances encountered. "Feelings of discouragement rose in his mind; and at times he entertained the purpose of leaving his circuit, and of returning to his former occupation at Roxby." But John Hart, a pious local preacher, to whom he revealed his feelings, encouraged him in his work, and urged him to persevere, adding, in conclusion, "*You dare not*" abandon your work. That was a word fitly spoken and in season.

In 1800 Mr. Newton was appointed to the Howden Circuit. While on this circuit he united with Miss Nodes in marriage. His entire domestic life, running on for more than half a century, was most happy.

It is not our design to follow Mr. Newton in his itinerancy more than to say that his circuits were Pocklington, Howden, Glasgow, Rotherham, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Holmfirth, London, Wakefield, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Stockport, and Salford. It will be perceived that though he travelled more than fifty years his moves, for the most part, were not long, and that he occupied repeatedly the same field of labour—especially the Liverpool and Manchester circuits. He spent but one year in Glasgow and but two in London. Mr. Jackson says:—

"From the year 1817, when he left Wakefield, to the end of his itinerant ministry, Mr. Newton's *official* labours, to which he was appointed by the conference, were confined to fewer circuits than were those of any of his contemporaries; but his labours which he *voluntarily* undertook, extended through the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. According to the minutes of the conference, Liverpool and Manchester divided between them twenty years of his public life; Salford occupied six, Stockport three, and Leeds six; so that he appears to have spent thirty-five years in five localities."—P. 94.

This will seem strange to some of our warmest advocates for the most extensive itinerancy. Mr. Newton, the most popular as a pulpit orator and platform speaker of all the Wesleyan ministers, is stationed twenty years in Liverpool and Manchester.

Mr. Newton's voluntary labours are perhaps without a parallel in ancient or modern times. We may have some conception of them when we consider that from 1817 to the close of his life, he was constantly travelling and preaching. He had only Saturday—and that but a part of the time—as a day of rest. And then, such rest as he had on that day! From one to two dozen letters to answer, preparation for the pulpit on the morrow, and a social religious meeting to attend in the evening! While he was thus travelling all the week, attending missionary meetings, opening chapels, and preaching in the villages and cities, he always kept the Sabbaths for his own charge. And as a young man, for a number of years, was stationed with him, to attend to the evening appointments, and other occasional services, the work on his own circuits was not uncared for or neglected.

In 1822 Mr. Newton made his first visit to the Irish Conference. He became after this a frequent visiter to Ireland, and laboured there successfully in the good work of his divine Lord and Master. "He attended," says his biographer, "at least twenty-three Irish conferences. Here some of his tenderest friendships were formed; and here many persons were, through his faithful ministry, turned to righteousness, and made heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ."—P. 101.

The forte of Mr. Newton was preaching. He was a "salvation preacher." We may learn from this why, with his great popularity, he was stationed in London but once, and remained there but two years. Mr. Jackson says:—

"London was less acceptable to him as a station than the other places where he laboured. Being the centre of connexional operations, numerous committees were held there, which he was expected to attend. These occupied much time, and diverted his attention from preaching, and from the work of pulpit preparation, in which, above all things, his soul delighted. The fact is, he never had that aptitude for the details of business in which some men excel. He felt that he was made for action rather than for deliberation, and that the duties of the pulpit were his especial forte and calling. He did attend the meetings of committees, as in duty bound, having in them a trust to execute; but he was always glad to escape from them to employment which was more congenial to his taste."—Pp. 76, 77.

Mr. Newton, genuinely converted, as we have seen, entered upon the work of the ministry at the age of eighteen. For fifty-three years he continued in that work, preaching the Gospel in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the United States. From the commence-

ment of his public career to its close he was a man of one work. At home and abroad he strove to save men. In the faithful discharge of his duties he had to pay the price which such efforts too frequently cost: he was at times falsely judged, and no little reproach was heaped upon him. But he could say, having such assurance as he had of the divine approbation and the divine presence, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

In 1852, and when Mr. Newton was past seventy years of age, he was compelled to take a supernumerary relation to the conference. It is delightful to see amid what respect and kind regard from his brethren, he retires from the labours and appointments of an "effective preacher." But the days of infirmity, long delayed, had come. He could no longer go forth to service as aforetime. The blanks in his "interleaved almanac" were becoming more and more common. He was learning, as he wrote his friends, to be an old man.

The following extract is from his last letter, and was addressed to his faithful friend, Mr. Turner, of Derby:—

"And now what can I say to Derby, which I am loth to give up after all these years? I believe all I can say is, that if in July I am as well as I am to-day, I may offer you one sermon on the Sabbath, and if it be thought well, one on the Monday evening."

Good man! even Derby with all its charms and endearing friendships could no longer hold him in life. His July was spent in heaven. On the 30th of April, and ten days after writing this letter, he fell asleep in Christ, saying, "*Jesus is the resurrection and the life!*"

Fletcher, Benson, and Coke had their distinct places in the Wesleyan Connexion; so had Adam Clarke and Richard Watson. Newton had his. He was not great as Clarke and Watson were, but he was great as Robert Newton, the eloquent and indefatigable minister of Christ. He came from the people; he sympathized with the people; he lived among the people; he laboured for the people; he died lamented by the people; and with the "people" saved from sin and earth, he dwells in heaven. Of no man can it be more truthfully said, "IN LABOURS MORE ABUNDANT."

## ART. VI.—SCHAFF ON AMERICA.

*The Political, Social, and Ecclesiastico-religious Condition of the United States of North America, with Special Reference to the Germans.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben. 1854.

DR. Schaff, as some of the readers of the Quarterly know, was called from Switzerland, his native country, about ten years ago, to occupy his present position in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church at Mercersburg, where, in connexion with Dr. Nevin, he has laboured with great zeal, and as far, it is presumed, as his own communion is concerned, with considerable success in building up the system of doctrine known in certain quarters as "the Mercersburg theology." In several works, published both in German and English, he has shown himself to be a man of elegant culture and profound theological learning. He has contributed several papers to this Review.

He lately visited his native land, and, during a short sojourn in Berlin, delivered several lectures on America, which the favourable opinion of certain friends induced him to publish, though in a form somewhat altered and considerably extended. The result is a book of three hundred pages, whose title forms the heading of this article. It is divided into three parts. First: The United States of North America—their Importance, Politics, National Character, Culture, Literature, and Religion. Second: The Ecclesiastico-religious Condition of America. Third: The German Churches in America.

Under the first head Dr. Schaff gives a graphic account of the wonderful growth of his adopted country; of her thirty-one organized states, with additional territory sufficient to make a dozen more, each as large as a German kingdom,—the whole, though less than a hundred years old, containing three millions of square miles and more than twenty-five millions of people. He speaks of the foreign immigration as of such magnitude as to entitle it to be called a peaceful, bloodless migration of the nations; and declares that the Americans bid them all welcome,—both good and bad, the good rather, but the bad too, in the hope, that in a new world they will become new men, thus disproving the truth of the old verse—

*Cælum, non animum mutant, trans mare qui currunt.*

With the author we say, Let the good come, but we hope to be pardoned by our countrymen generally if we cannot welcome or

invite such men as the foreign burglars and murderers who make our homes and lives insecure; who fill our prisons and supply nearly the whole of our material for the gallows; who would overturn our government and establish red republicanism; who would abrogate marriage and institute licentiousness; who would blot out the Sabbath, and indeed destroy Christianity, of which it is an essential part. The patriotic piety which would prompt us to pray for the prosperity of our country and the permanence of our institutions leads us to regard such men as in the highest degree undesirable, and heartily to wish them back in their own lands, with all of their sort ever to remain.

In treating of the political condition of the country, he shows that while all the governments of Europe rest, more or less, upon the institutions of the middle age, here the last remnants of that period, with the exception of slavery in the southern states, fall entirely away. We have no king, no nobility, no aristocracy, except the unavoidable threefold aristocracy of character, of talents, and of money; no standing army and no state Church; but instead of these, perfect civil and religious liberty, as well as unrestricted freedom of speech and of the press, and access to the highest offices, even for the poorest citizens, under the reasonable and natural conditions of competency and worthiness; and that with all this apparent excess of liberty there is joined universal regard for right and law, deep reverence for Christianity, well-ordered government, and perfect security of person and property. Our author, however, is very solicitous, as indeed he should be, to make a strong distinction between the radical democracy of Europe and the cherished republican freedom of his adopted country. On this point he remarks,—

“Although a Swiss by birth and an American by adoption, I have lived too long in monarchies to deny in the least their historical necessity and high excellence. I am utterly destitute of sympathy with the shallow fanatical republicanism of so many Americans, who see no salvation for Europe except in the universal spread of republican institutions, and hence are prepared to hail with joy the vilest revolutions, born of the spirit of darkness. This comes, however, of not understanding the matter; for if they knew better they would decide differently. But unhistorical, foolish, even ridiculous as it would be to plant American institutions at once and without modification on European soil, yet on the other side, for the United States I can think of but one form of government as reasonable and appropriate, and that is the republic. All the traditions and sympathies are there in its favour. With it are connected the whole previous history and present vocation of the country; under it she has become great and strong; under it she feels happy and satisfied. We cannot imagine from what quarter a king for America could come.” P. 19.

Now, while we most cordially agree with our author in his hearty denunciation of red republicanism in other parts of his book, and are

satisfied that the men who have recently undertaken to democratize Europe were wholly unsuited to the task, mainly because they rejected Christianity, yet we must hesitate to admit the historical necessity of monarchy, except so far as monarchy has kept the masses degraded, and by calling in the aid of the Church has added to the number of their masters and oppressors, thus wedding, in the minds of the people, Christianity with tyranny, and making the noble sentiments of liberty the enemy of Christ, who alone can make men truly free. Our author tells us that in this country the sympathies, the traditions, the history, were all in favour of republicanism, so much so that he can conceive of no other form of government for her. That is, if we understand him, republicanism is a historical necessity for America! She must continue a republic because she has a republican history, just as Europe must remain monarchical because her history is monarchical. But how would this argument have answered when our fathers were just emerging from the struggle of the revolution and were casting about for a suitable form of government? The stream of history then set in the opposite direction. And although our fathers were already qualified for self-government by intelligence and virtue, yet there was no necessity for the republic except in the deep sympathies of the people.

While Dr. Schaff, in different parts of his book, as already intimated, speaks in terms of just severity of many of his own countrymen as radical and revolutionary, and of the tendency of their opinions and acts as anarchical and highly immoral, we cannot but think he has included under his generally proper and discriminating condemnation one name which ought to have been spared, even in the presence of a Berlin audience. We mean that of Louis Kossuth. After speaking of the manner in which certain would-be European republican leaders, who have come to America within a few years past, have been compelled to settle down quietly into simple citizens, our author proceeds thus:—

“The only revolutionary celebrity who has really created a great stir is Kossuth, who, during the half year of his stay in America as the nation's guest made many hundreds of English speeches, as well as a few in German, and by the power of his eloquence, in the highest degree remarkable, even in a foreign language, and by his strange gift for agitation, drew upon himself the wonder of thousands. But the history of his meteoric, rhetorical campaign through states of the Union is expressed in a few words: he went up like a rocket and came down like a stick.”—P. 16.

We readily admit the failure of Kossuth, but in what sense did he fail? He certainly did not fail to excite us to the highest pitch of admiration, wonder, and reverence for his own character,



or to awaken in our hearts the deepest sympathy for his oppressed and suffering country. The very concomitants of his failure would have been a sufficient immortality for most men. But he failed to secure the coöperation of the great Western empire in the cause of Hungarian liberty; he failed to convince us that it was good policy, young as our country was, and remote from the scene of strife, to engage in a European war. He failed in England, too, where he certainly would have succeeded if the rights of man had been as dear to the government as the balance of power in Europe. But he failed in an enterprise of exalted and glorious patriotism similar to that in which Franklin succeeded at the court of France, and which brought to our shores Lafayette, the citizen of two hemispheres, with French muskets, French soldiers, and French gold. If the mission of the American commissioners was more glorious than that of the Hungarian governor, it was only because the world measures glory by no standard but that of success. The honour shown to Kossuth at the time of his visit, and which is still felt for him by Americans who are not blinded by partisanship, was a spontaneous homage to his genius, the utterance of a glowing sympathy with his noble and gallant soul, and the exhibition of a melting, though unfruitful pity for his crushed country, mingled with fierce indignation against a perjured king and his royal companions in treachery and tyranny. If Dr. Schaff had fully imbibed the spirit of Washington and the fathers of the American Revolution, he never would have abused Kossuth before an audience that hated him simply because he was a republican patriarch.

Under the head of national character and social life our author represents America as exhibiting a lively ethnographical panorama, in which we see passing before us all the nationalities of the old world. In Virginia we meet with the English gentleman of the time of Elizabeth and the later Stuarts; in Philadelphia with the Quaker of the days of George Fox and William Penn; in East Pennsylvania with the Palatine and the Suabian of the former part of the last century; in New-England with the Puritan of the time of Cromwell and Baxter; on the shore of the Hudson and in New-Jersey with the genuine Hollander, and in South Carolina with the Huguenots and the French noblemen of the seventeenth century. He shows, however, that in all this variegated manifoldness a higher unity prevails, in which we clearly distinguish the features of the American national character. This American national character, whose basis is English, greatly modified by the intermixture of other nationalities, and which, we are told, needs still further modification by contact with the deep German inwardness, our author describes

as remarkable for energy, self-government, activity, power of organization, strong religious convictions, and as possessing in a high degree the qualities necessary for world-dominion. Our social life is characterized as English in its general features, and in our large cities as rapidly tending to extravagance and luxury. New-York is compared with the French rather than the English capital, and if it were not for its many religious societies and churches, and its strict observance of Sunday, it might be called a second Paris. In respect to the intellectual enjoyments of social life among us, we translate from our author the following:—

“The deep and thoroughly cultivated intercourse with which we meet here in Berlin, where, to speak without flattery, one can spend each evening in the most suggestive and profitable conversation, with ladies as well as with gentlemen, on science, and art, and all the higher concerns of life, is, indeed, but seldom to be met with in America. Female training especially, is still, in general, very shallow there, calculated rather for outward show than for solid, inward improvement, and in some circles where from outward appearances we might expect something better, we sometimes hear for whole evenings nothing but the stalest and most intolerable every-day chat about the weather, the fashions, and the latest wedding projects. But on the other hand a certain average culture is more general there than in Europe, where the culture is confined to certain conditions of life. Republican institutions, as we may see in part in Switzerland, have a leveling, equalizing tendency, in regard to social diversities. If the overtopping heights of culture are less frequent in America, so on the other hand we shall be unable to find there any such deep depressions of ignorance. There almost every one strives to be a gentleman or lady, that is, to reach the English ideal of outward and inward, of intellectual and moral culture, as far as their circumstances and external position will allow. Almost every man has a certain, at least outward routine, can make a respectable appearance, reads newspapers and journals, can talk intelligently about the general affairs of his fatherland; if needful, can make a speech, and in general, can make a good practical use of his knowledge. The amount of sound sense, of prudence and practical skill, and of speaking talent to be found there among all classes is really astonishing.”—P. 35.

From this flattering view of the American mind, the author proceeds to literature and science, and among other topics alludes to our public schools, mentions the Romish opposition to them, and rather sides with it, and says that certain prominent men in the Protestant confessions have assumed a polemical attitude toward them, and are labouring to establish parochial schools. It is true that many of the Protestant Churches, as also the Jews, have established schools of their own, but certainly, as far as we have any knowledge, those who have done so from hostility to the public schools must be looked for among the Puseyites or their Mercersburg friends.

We have some account also of college education in the country, and what is said is marked by fairness and discrimination. It is very properly stated that in the German sense of the word we have

no university,—that Yale, Harvard, and the University of Virginia make the nearest approach to it. The author makes a slight mistake, however, in attaching a theological department to the University of Virginia.

The newspaper press comes in for a share of attention, and the Germans are astonished to hear of the immense circulation of some of our American papers, among others, certain of the religious weeklies, one of which, the New-York Observer, they are told, reaches the enormous height of twenty thousand. We allude to this part of the book merely to show that better examples might have been selected; and we cannot imagine why they were not. The Christian Advocate, New-York, and the Western Christian Advocate, Cincinnati, have a circulation of between thirty and forty thousand each.

We pass now to notice the author's remarks upon the aspects of religion and the Church. He shows, very truly, that, although we have no state Church, yet the state, as such, does not leave Christianity entirely unrecognised; that in most, if not in all of the state governments, there are stringent laws against atheism, blasphemy, desecration of the Sabbath, and polygamy; and that even Congress acknowledges Christianity by the election of a chaplain for each house, as well as by providing similar officers for the army and navy. He falls, however, into a slight error when he states that the congressional chaplains have been mostly Protestant Episcopal and Presbyterian. The Methodists have had their full share of representatives in this office, and of late years, indeed, more than any other denomination. The last Congress had a Methodist chaplain in each house. We call attention to this error, not because it is of any great importance in this country, but merely because the German hearers and readers of these lectures, whose ideas are so much influenced by official dignity, might have thought better of us if Dr. Schaff had informed them correctly at this point.

Dr. Schaff seems to have grave doubts respecting what is called the voluntary principle, namely, that condition of the Church in which, unsupported by the state, it is left to depend upon the hearts of its members; for although he makes many statements going to show how efficiently it works, yet he tells us it has its dark sides; and further, that he would by no means defend, as an ideal condition, the separation of Church and state, of which the voluntary principle is a necessary fruit, though he considers it preferable to territorialism and police guardianship of the Church, and holds it to be a *present* necessity.

But the great source of grief with our author in regard to the

ecclesiastical relations of our country, is found in sectarianism, (*Settenwesen*.) On this point we translate as follows:—

"America is the classic land of sects, which there, in perfect civil authorization, can develop themselves without opposition. This is connected with the above-mentioned preponderating reformed type of the country. For in the reformed Church, the Protestant, hence also the subjective, individualistic principle is most strongly brought out. By the term sectarianism we describe the whole ecclesiastical condition of the country. For the difference between Church and sect has no existence there, at least, in the sense of established Church and dissenting societies, as they are ordinarily understood in England and Germany. In America we have no state Church, and hence no dissenters. There every religious society, if it does not outrage the common Christian feelings of the people or the public morality, (as the Mormons, who, on this account, were driven out of Ohio and Illinois,) enjoys the same protection and the same rights."—P. 81.

Further on, in the same spirit, he adds —

"There is the Romanist, with the tridentinum and the pomp of the mass; the Episcopal Anglican, with the thirty-nine articles and the book of common prayer; the Scotch Presbyterian, with the Westminster confession and his presbyteries and synods; the Congregationalist, or Puritan in the narrower sense, likewise with the Westminster confession, but with independent Churches; the Baptist, with his immersion and his rejection of infant baptism; the Quaker, with his inward light; the Methodist, with his insisting upon repentance and conversion, and his artfully-contrived machinery."

There, too, are the Lutheran, the German Reformed, the Dutch Reformed, and others, all standing side by side, in the enjoyment of the same liberty, making war upon sin, though sometimes also upon each other, and achieving triumphs of no mean character or trifling extent, since, as the author tells us, multitudes of souls are gathered every year by most of these sects, and some of them have doubled their numbers within the last ten years.

Our author admits that this confusion of sects, as he calls it, may, from a certain point of view, be regarded with favour; that a person who looks upon the *conversion* of *men* as the whole design of the Church, may well be favourably impressed with the religious condition of America. He admits that this glorious object is promoted by the great number of Churches and sects, which incite each other to increased activity and fruitfulness. He even asserts that there are in this country, in proportion to population, more truly-awakened souls and more individual effort and sacrifice for religion than any where else in the world, Scotland, perhaps, excepted; and he denies that our sectarianism works to the advantage either of infidelity or Romanism. But he tells us, notwithstanding all this, that when we come to inspect this state of things more closely, we shall find that it has "great weaknesses and dark aspects; that it sets in motion every impure motive, encourages party-spirit and party-passion,

selfishness and bigotry, and changes the peaceful regions of the kingdom of God into a battle-field, where brother wars with brother, not indeed with sword and bayonet, but with harshness and with every description of slander, and where the interests of the Church are, to a great extent, subordinated to those of party. It tears the beautiful body of Christ into pieces, and again and again throws the fire-brand of jealousy and discord among his members."

What shall we say in reply to all this? Shall we deny that the Church of God in America is extensively divided? or that the different denominations sometimes engage in acrimonious controversy? By no means. Dr. Schaff himself tells us, on the very next page, that sectarianism is not specifically an American disease; that if the Church and the state were separated in Prussia, the parties that now make war upon each other with so much bitterness within the state Church would at once erect themselves into independent Churches and sects—and, if our information is correct, the liberation of the Church throughout Germany would give us a greater number of sects than we have in this country. What then does the learned author mean? Why does he connect so closely the separation of Church and state and the voluntary principle with sectarianism, which his colleague, Dr. Nevin, has laboured through a long and able pamphlet to identify with antichrist, and which he himself seems to place among mortal sins? Does he mean to bring reproach, or, at least, suspicion, upon the relation of the American Church to the state, or simply to insinuate that personally he is tired of depending on the precarious and limited support of the voluntary principle? Or does he believe, as he tells us (p. 249) Dr. Nevin does, that the Church question in the largest sense is not only the greatest theological problem of the present day, but a *question of personal salvation*. This would be a still more terrible view of the separation of Church and state, which our author "would not be willing to defend as an ideal," and which in this country would thus become the cause of the awful sin of freeing the conscience and of establishing a number of earnest, liberal, soul-saving, Christian communions.

But we are referred still further back: "Protestantism itself," we are told, "being Christianity in the form of free subjectivity," has, in its principle and essence, a tendency to the formation of sects, so that it would seem after all that the Reformation is mainly to blame for the divisions of the American Church; and that the separation of Church and state, and freedom of religion, are only so far evil as they remove the hindrances to the development of the schismatical principle of Protestantism.

Sectarianism and Protestantism, as they have shown their greatest power and secured their most striking development in this country, so, according to our author, it is in this country that they are both destined to come to an end. "Here," we are told, "and not in London or Oxford, Romanism and Protestantism are to fight their last and most decisive battle," which is to result in favour of neither of the contending parties, but in favour of an evangelical catholicism, to be reared, of course, on the ruins of the present schismatical ecclesiastical establishments of the land.

Dr. Schaff has a high regard for the Church of Rome, although he is not entirely satisfied with her type of catholicity. Hear him on this point in the following passage:—

"What is true, and good, and great, and beautiful in the old, gray, but still ever life-powerful Catholic Church, for which, in spite of my Protestant convictions and position I have a powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically-religious respect, should and must be preserved; but her temporal form, the papacy, must pass away, and with it the adoration of, saints, the superstitious regard for relics, the spirit of persecution, tyranny over the conscience, and everything which, with all the believing Protestant's longing for Church unity, with all his pain at the weaknesses and imperfections in his own camp, still, for the sake of his conscience, on account of the most precious benefits of the holy Gospel and of direct communion with Christ, our all-satisfying Lord, must forever separate him from the Church of Rome.—P. 151.

It sounds strangely to American ears that a theological professor in one of the Churches of the Reformation should have for Romanism "a powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically-religious respect." A historical respect for that system which has reddened all the streams of history with the blood of the saints, and still glories in it, telling us she would do the same thing *here* and *now* if she had the power! A theological respect for Romanism, with her transubstantiation, her worship of the host, her indulgences and purgatory, redolent of lucre; her penance and auricular confession, and her priestly power of forgiving sin! This looks to us like respect for idolatry, blasphemy, and licentiousness. But the professor goes still further, and speaks, apparently with great pleasure, of his "practically-religious respect" for Rome, that is, reverence—he venerates the mother of harlots as a chaste and holy matron; he sees in her the virtues of churchliness and outward unity, the latter indeed preserved by the rack and the faggot; while in the Protestant communions, under the working of free subjectivity, that evil principle of the Reformation, he sees only the horrible deformity of unchurchliness and the mortal sin of schism and sectarian confusion. No wonder, after all this, that our author should tell his German friends how "easy a matter it is in America



for a theologian to draw upon himself the charge of Puseyism and Romanizing tendencies," and frankly confess his own bitter experiences in this respect.

In the following passage our author speaks of the prevailing opinions of American Protestants with respect to Popery, and characterises them as prejudice :—

"They see in it (Popery) the incarnate antichrist, the man of sin prophesied of by Paul, that exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; the synagogue of Satan, the apocalyptic beast, the Babylonish whore, an enemy of all liberty of thought and belief, a fearful power of persecution of all who think differently from her, a mighty tyranny of the conscience, a spiritual despotism which must become, necessarily, a political despotism should it ever obtain sufficient power."—P. 153.

These sober opinions of so many private Christians and learned interpreters, some of which are based upon decrees of Papal councils, the opinions of learned Romish doctors, and the admitted principles of Popery, the author condemns without distinction, nay, even makes light of, and places on a footing of equality with the abuse of Protestantism by the Papal press of this country.

Under his ecclesiastico-religious division, Dr. Schaff, after a short preface, proceeds to a characterization of the principal denominations of the country. He divides them into two groups, the English and the German. The English are the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, the Quakers, the Methodists, and the Baptists. Of the last two there are also German branches. He says :—

"All these can be assigned to orthodox and evangelical Protestantism, since in their symbols they hold fast to the fundamental doctrines of Holy Scripture and of the Reformation, and bring forth a Christian life corresponding therewith. On the outermost boundary of orthodox Protestantism stand the Baptists and Quakers, who hence mostly bear the character of sects in the narrower sense, although the former are very numerous. On the other hand the Episcopalians form the extreme right wing of Protestantism, and are most nearly related to Catholicism; this holds especially of the High Church or Puseyite party."—P. 91.

But, although the Protestant Episcopalians are thus placed with Rome, and the Quakers and Baptists are branded as sects in the narrower sense; although the Congregationalist and Presbyterians are blamed as standing on the utmost extreme of simplicity and unimaginative tameness in matters of public worship, and especially as rejecting the use of the cross, the altar, forms of prayer, clerical robes, and Church feasts, particularly Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, yet it is for the Methodists that he reserves his sharpest language.

"Methodism is one of the most numerous of American denominations, perhaps the most numerous, and in the state of Indiana has the entire control of the political elections. It possesses extraordinary practical energy and activity, and rejoices in an organization which is most strikingly adapted to great general undertakings and systematic, fruitful coöperation. Its ministers have, as a rule, little or no scientific culture; they, however, generally possess considerable gifts for popular discourse and exhortation, and often supply by faithfulness and devotion what they lack in deeper knowledge. They are especially fitted for pioneers in new regions, for aggressive mission work, and for labour among the lower classes. Their zeal, however, is very much clouded by impure motives of proselytism, and indulges itself in the most shameless inroads on the material of other Churches under the opinion that they alone can thoroughly convert them. The Methodists have also the greatest influence over the negroes, the free as well as the slaves, and with their power of producing excitement, seem exactly adapted to the sanguine, easily-moved negro temperament. Formerly they condemned learning and theology, from principle, and as dangerous to practical piety, and appealed to the apostles and evangelists of the early Church in justification of their position; they were accustomed to boast, that although their preachers had never rubbed their backs against the college wall, still they knew better how to gather fish into the net of the kingdom than others. But in respect to this question an important change has commenced within a few years past. The Methodists begin now to establish colleges and seminaries, to publish scientific journals, and to follow the advancing culture of the times. Still it is a question whether they will not, by this means, lose more of their peculiar character, and of their influence over the lower classes, than they will gain among the more cultivated circles. It is characteristic of them (the Methodist ministers) that as soon as they get a little learning they are usually more puffed up than other people, and even in the pulpit make a vain display of it."—Pp. 121, 122.

Now we very much doubt whether our readers could find anywhere else, in the same space, as much flippant abuse and self-complacent slander as we have here. As to our being good pioneers, adapted to the work among the lower classes and suited to the sanguine easily-moved negro temperament, we have nothing to object, but joyfully appropriate as a compliment what perhaps the Mercersburg theologian uttered for the purpose of bringing us into contempt in Berlin. It is a great pity that every Church is not fitted for the work of saving the poor and unlettered, especially as Christ himself has said, "Unto the poor the Gospel is preached." But when he tells his auditors and readers that "the zeal of Methodism is darkened by impure motives of proselytism," and that she indulges in the most shameless encroachments upon other Churches, we must meet the bold and reckless assertion by a flat denial, and characterize it as false and slanderous. The writer of this article knows well the relation of Methodism to the German Churches, especially in Pennsylvania. If to go into neighbourhoods where God was almost forgotten, where the members of the regular Churches, as a rule, openly indulged in profanity and drunkenness, and, on an almost starving pecuniary allowance, to preach the Gospel with a power that

drove the people from their sins and induced them to lead a new life, evinces a zeal darkened by motives of proselytism, we plead guilty to the charge. If to gather these awakened and renewed people into separate societies when it was almost morally certain that to leave them in their old associations was to insure their return to their former habits, and when the change through which they had passed had made them objects of derision, not only to their neighbours and fellow-churchmen generally, but in most cases also to their pastors; if to take pity on such poor sheep, and in these circumstances to provide food and fold for them is to make "shameless inroads upon other Churches," then indeed are we guilty, and are not ashamed. And it is precisely to these labours of Methodism, both in awakening the people and in founding Churches in their previously God-forsaken towns and neighbourhoods, that the German Churches are indebted, at least in a great measure, for the restoration of their spiritual life, for the beginning of those better days which he tells us they are now enjoying. Dr. Schaff shall be our witness and judge on this point. After speaking of that period of the history of the American German Churches embraced between the Revolutionary war and the year 1820, which he describes as the period of "*torpidity*" and "*petrification*," he makes the following statement:—

"The principal incitement, (i. e., to returning life,) came, at least indirectly, from the side of Puritanic Presbyterianism and *Methodism*, and was intimately connected with the continual prevalence of the English language, which, for a few decenniums has been pressing more and more into purely German neighbourhoods, so that the newly-awakened life bore at the beginning, and still bears, at least to some extent, an English, partly Puritanical, partly Methodistic character, and for some time threatened entirely to destroy the peculiarity, especially the churchly elements, of German Protestantism, such as the use of liturgical formularies, the celebration of the high feasts, the rite of confirmation, the mystical view of the holy supper," &c.—P. 173.

We quote again:—

"Many of the richest Pennsylvania farmers are uncommonly stingy and full of the most unreasonable prejudices against every kind of progress. Alas! they are even supported in it by many preachers of the old stamp, who trouble themselves much more about their farms, their geese, and their cows, than about the interests of the kingdom of God, and who systematically keep their Churches in ignorance and stupidity. They are indeed orthodox, but far far more from indolence of thought and motives of interest than from inward conviction; they are zealous for the Lutheran or the Reformed Church, and bawl themselves almost hoarse against the so-called Strablers, (Methodists,) and their new measures; but with these they assail at the same time all vital, practical Christianity. Happily, this generation of *belly priests* is rapidly dying off," &c., &c.—P. 199.

This is a specimen of that *period* of torpidity and *petrification* so graphically described by our author, as also of the treatment

encountered by the Methodists, when they first began to prophesy over this field of death. This is a picture to the life of the German Churches, both ministers and people: at that time "torpid" as the serpents of their own winters, petrified harder than the anthracite of their own hills, and reflecting as little light; mere fossil churches with *belly priests* for pastors, more troubled about their geese and cows than about the kingdom of God; bawling themselves hoarse with equal zeal against the Methodists and all vital practical Christianity. Over these arid and desolate wastes Methodism scattered the signs of returning life. Under her mighty, though perhaps in some cases rude efforts, portions of the torpid flocks began to struggle and revive: the "petrified" forms became conscious of joints, and the limbs of stone began to soften and move; and now we are told that the result of these labours, and of others of a similar kind put forth by the Presbyterians, is, that a better time has come, and the condition of the German Churches is decidedly hopeful. For being the instruments of bringing all this about the Methodist ministers find their reward on the other side of the Atlantic in having their zeal described as "clouded by impure motives of proselytism." But while we repel and disprove this false and ungrateful charge, we do not hesitate to state that while the Methodists have always strenuously contended that God alone converts the soul, yet they have always held and acted upon the principle, that the Church which has been the instrument of turning men to righteousness ought to provide for their spiritual culture, and to have the spiritual oversight of them. They have further held, that the openly wicked and profane, whom no scriptural Church discipline could allow to remain in the Church, are not in any valid sense members of the visible Church, and that when such men are taken in the "Gospel net" and become true Christians, it is just as much the duty of the Church through whose labours they are converted, with their consent, to receive them into her communion as it would be to receive so many heathen brought to Christ at one of her missionary stations in Africa. In all this they feel and know that so far from entering upon other men's labours, they are simply nurturing the spiritual children whom God has given them, and besides are frequently erecting a light from which others shall receive the rays of a divine illumination, and even torpid and petrified Churches renew their suspended functions. But while the Methodists, thus gladly and from conviction, have always received their spiritual offspring, they have ever scorned to decoy Christians of other communions into their own. Indeed, they themselves have suffered more from proselytism than any other Church in the land: thousands

converted among us and formerly belonging to us are now members of other Churches, and scores of those who were once Methodist ministers, both in England and in this country, are occupying the pulpits of other denominations.

It is charged again that the Methodists formerly condemned learning and theology, both from principle and from their being dangerous to practical piety. Here are two distinct charges: one is that "the Methodists formerly condemned learning and theology from principle," that is, loved ignorance for its own sake, especially in matters of theology; the other, that they considered both learning and theology dangerous to practical piety,—in other words, that they held the opinion so often attributed to Rome, namely, that ignorance is the mother of devotion. In reply to such accusations as these one scarcely knows what to say. The calumny is so obvious, that to state it is to refute it and to brand the author with reckless error or intentional misrepresentation. Perhaps Dr. Schaff supposed these things would never reach the ears of the friends of Methodism in this country, while at the same time his scandalous misrepresentation of her ministers and caricature of her history might have the effect of making our recently-established missions in Germany unpopular, as well as of arming the German emigrants against the influence of our domestic missions when they arrive in this country. This would seem to be the method adopted by the advocates of *evangelical catholicism* for the extirpation of schism, the antichrist of Mercersburg; and perhaps the new catholicism, like the old so much admired by our friend, holds the maxim, "the end sanctifies the means."

What, then, was the true relation of early Methodists to learning and theology? Why, simply this. When the Wesleys found the depths of the spiritual life, and their ministrations began to be "in power, in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance;" and when great numbers were awakened and converted as the fruit of their labours, some of these persons, feeling themselves urged by a strong desire, and by a conviction of duty equally strong, to call sinners to repentance, before they themselves or their religious guides were aware of it, were found to be preaching. The labours of these laymen produced abundant fruits, and in many cases exhibited the gifts of the labourers to great advantage. What was to be done? Mr. Wesley saw the multitudes perishing for lack of knowledge, with no man, even among the clergy, to care for their souls, and he reluctantly confirmed what the Great Head of the Church had already ordered, and made these pious and zealous laymen helpers of his ministry. But did Mr. Wesley send these men out to preach the Gospel *because* they

had not been taught Latin and Greek and were not skilled in theology as a science? Was it not rather in spite of these defects, and because although they were not learned, they were sensible, highly gifted, and, above all, deeply religious and fired with a zeal for the salvation of souls, which seemed to be the great passion of their lives? Did he send them out with the advice to avoid books, to eschew learning, and especially to keep clear of theology? We hardly need say that he himself was an extensive writer as well as publisher of books, intended to assist in training his people in the knowledge and practice of Christianity; and that in his advice to his preachers he places gaining knowledge next to saving souls. In our Discipline, —in the first ever published—the question is asked, “Why is it that the people under our care are not better?” and the answer given is, “Other reasons may concur, but the chief is, because we are not more knowing and more holy.” The next answer proceeds to direct the preacher to spend at least *five hours every day in study*, and declares that a preacher who has no taste for books must “contract such a taste by use or return to his former employment.”

If we come to the early history of our Church in this country, how do these slanders appear? Was Dr. Coke, our first bishop, a lover of ignorance for its own sake? Did he ignore his own learning, and assert that he could have been a more pious man, or a more efficient minister without it? Did the early Methodist ministers get this intense hatred of learning and theology, this belief that ignorance is the mother of devotion, from Francis Asbury, the father of American Methodism, the founder of Cokesbury College, one of the objects of which, as stated by himself, was to give to our young men who are called to preach “a measure of that improvement which is highly expedient as a preparative for public service;” and who, in spite of the disadvantages of his early training, and while engaged in ceaseless travel and daily preaching over the whole extent of this vast country, found time for self-culture and for the earnest study of the Scriptures in the original languages? Did our fathers learn to hate culture in general and theology in particular from the example of Emory, and Hedding, and Bangs? men whose youth was spent with one generation of Methodist ministers, their mature manhood with another, and the beautiful and fragrant old age of one of them with still another. The charge is false. For although the Methodist Church has held from the beginning, and still holds, that neither a classical nor *regular* theological education is essential to an efficient Gospel ministry; and though she has demonstrated her position in a way to make the ears of the world to tingle, yet she has always insisted with equal earnestness, that those who are called to



the work of the ministry are bound to do their utmost to cultivate their minds and to acquire knowledge, especially that which pertains to their holy calling. Our fathers in the ministry were frequently assailed as false prophets or as ignorant pretenders and interlopers, by ministers who, with a smattering of Greek and Latin and no Christian experience, had less biblical learning than those whom they abused; and when thus attacked by the *belly priests*, as Dr. Schaff aptly calls them, they replied, and very truly, that although they had never been at college, they were better instructed in everything pertaining to their sacred calling than many who had enjoyed that advantage. And in further vindication of themselves, they pointed, like Paul, to their "living epistles," and showed that "the net of the Gospel" in their hands, came to the shore laden at every haul with the evidences of success, while their maligners laboured in the dark and literally "caught nothing." Dr. Schaff has either carelessly or wilfully borne false witness against the early Methodist ministers, men of whom the world was not worthy, and who, according to his own acknowledgment, had much to do with the reawakening of his own "torpid" and "petrified" Church.

As to the ill-natured remark, that "it is characteristic of the Methodist ministers, that as soon as they get a little learning, they are usually more puffed up than others, and make a vain display of it, even in the pulpit," we reply, that we are acquainted with no Church in the land so much in danger from a little learning as the German Reformed. This results from two causes: first, the miserable Pennsylvania German dialect, the vernacular of many of their ministers and people; and secondly, the recent introduction of the mystical and metaphysical Mercersburg theology. Of the German dialect in use in Pennsylvania, where the interests of the German Reformed Church principally lie, Dr. Schaff has given a most ludicrous account in the book before us. Here is a verse of an evening hymn in that dialect which he quotes for the amusement of his cultivated audience.

"Margets scheent die Sun so schō  
Owits goat der gehl Mond uf,  
Margets leit der Dau in Klee,  
Owits tritt mer Drucke druf."

This lingo, a mixture of mangled German and English forms, incapable of being used for any literary purpose whatever, is the native speech of a large number of those who enter the ministry in Dr. Schaff's Church. It is true that the English language grows up by the side of their vernacular, but only as a stiff and literal translation of it, the sentences standing as often on their heads as on their feet,

so that both languages are made to play the harlequin together. Now how is it possible for young men who start to college knowing neither German nor English, unprovided with the common channels of thought, the simplest instruments of improvement,—half of whose time in college must have passed before they acquire freedom and skill in either language,—how is it possible for such young men in the remaining half of their time to get beyond the point of “a little learning?” And will not these early disadvantages trammel them in all after life? But when these young men leave college and enter the theological seminary, how are they, with such slender preparation, and in the short time allowed them, to master the intricacies and fathom the depths of the Mercersburg theology?—to explain the mystery of the mystical presence, baptismal grace, and historical development? To expect such a thing is absurd, and hence, ever since this new system became dominant in the German Reformed Church, the most of her ministers seem to move like a man bearing about him a concealed treasure, of which he knows neither the value nor the exact whereabouts, though he is pretty sure he has it somewhere. The general impression is, that however clearly Drs. Nevin and Schaff may be able to see in this newly-imported, hazy, German, doctrinal atmosphere, the great body of their ministers are befogged by their “too little learning;” and hence with a discretion scarcely to be expected in this country of independent thought, they have mostly yielded themselves in unreasoning and dutiful silence to the guidance of authority, and by tacit consent have left both the promulgation and defence of the new theology to their two great leaders. But while with the majority the effect of the new teaching has been thus repressive and sedative, with a considerable number who think they see bottom through the deep or muddy waters, it has been far otherwise; and where a learned professor might have presented to his audience a body of smoke in a robe of moonshine, and supplied by rhetorical and metaphysical gymnastics what was lacking in solid doctrine, these poor fellows only grope and flounder, and in quite a different sense from that in which Milton used the words, “find no end, in wandering mazes lost,” until the intelligent in the community are reminded of the country schoolmaster and his astonished neighbours,—

“While words of learned length and thundering sound  
Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around.”

With respect to the charge of “conceit” and “vain display” we will not deny that an occasional case of the kind may be pointed out among us, as among *others*, but that it is “characteristic” we

altogether deny: the history, the spirit, the success of our ministry all contradict it. Dr. Schaff himself tells us in a passage which we shall by-and-by translate, that the "principal thing with the Methodists is to work upon the sinner;" and we add, that this, (leaving off the sneer,) with the building up of believers and the training of children, Methodism regards as her whole work. With these the display of learning is incompatible, and yet toward these the members of the Church expect, and her authorities demand, that every sermon should tend. Methodism in this country annually receives into her communion almost as many persons as all the other Protestant Churches together;—is this great work accomplished by men inclined to idle display, or is it the result of preaching the Gospel "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth?" The charge is false; our ministers, as a general rule, whether they have much learning, little learning, or none at all, are characterized by earnestness and simplicity, and so much are these qualities the fashion among us, especially the former, that a minister who does not possess them, must seem to do so in order to be acceptable. So striking a characteristic, not only of our preaching, but of our whole Church life, has earnestness been, that Dr. Chalmers, as if to refute this charge before it was made, described Methodism as "Christianity in earnest."

Our author finds a striking resemblance between Methodism and German pietism, on which account, he says, the former have easy access to the Württemberg emigrants, among whom there are many Pietists. We learn, on the other hand, from Dr. Nast that this last remark is a decided blunder: Methodism does little or nothing with the Pietists. About twenty per cent. of the converts of the Methodist German missions are from the ranks of Rome,—the rest, for the most part, were Rationalists or outright Infidels.

We translate another passage:—

"Methodism and Pietism agree in earnestly insiting upon subjective experimental Christianity—repentance, conversion, the new birth, and indeed in a particular way and manner, or method; hence the name Methodism. The ruling spirit of the system demands as a condition to the complete *getting through*, powerful birth pains, an earnest battle of repentance, a certain amount of feeling of sin and of grace, and ordinarily also the clear recollection of the time and place of the new birth or conversion, two things which Methodism regards as one."

We do indeed, with Jesus and the apostles, insist on experimental Christianity, repentance and the new birth; we labour to bring on the battle of repentance, and rejoice in the pangs of the spiritual birth, but we teach nothing in regard to the specific amount of any

kind of feeling whatever—just the reverse indeed—we pretend to have no mystical thermometer by which to determine the spiritual temperature either of the renewed or the penitential state.

Dr. Schaff's ignorance of our economy, considering he has undertaken to write about us, is most remarkable. He tells his readers that the legislative power lies in the conferences, the administrative in the hands of the bishops and presiding elders; that the preachers are not paid directly by the people, but from a general Church fund; that they receive a moderate but respectable and *fixed* support for themselves, for their wives, and for each of their children, so that the increase of the income keeps pace with the growth of the family; that the widows and orphans of the clergy and missionaries receive an excellent support from a special, rich, well-managed relief fund. Most of this might have been said just as appropriately of the Quakers, who have no regular ministry at all.

Our relation to Church service and the means of grace is next taken up:—

"In regard to divine service, the ordinary, God-ordained means of grace, do not satisfy Methodism, and with the sacraments she does not at all know what to do, although she still traditionally retains infant baptism and celebrates the Lord's supper four times a year as a simply commemorative institution. It has far more confidence in subjective means and exciting impressions than in objective institutions and their more quiet and unobserved, but more certain efficiency. The principal thing with Methodism is to work upon the sinner with altogether special exertions of the preacher, and for this purpose they have discovered and completed in America a peculiar machinery, which to Pietism is entirely unknown, 'namely, the system of the so-called new measures.'"

Among these "new measures" are mentioned by the author, prayer-meetings and camp-meetings, inquiry meetings and class-meetings, (the two latter he regards as in some measure a substitute for the Romish confessional,) and finally the anxious-bench, which he describes as follows:—

"A purely American discovery, namely, a seat in front of the pulpit, to which, after preaching, the penitent hearer is invited, and still further worked upon with special exhortations, in the most exciting manner, until the new life reaches the point of *breaking through*, and then the feeling of sin-pardoning grace breaks forth in a loud and ecstatic rejoicing, as just before the sense of sin had expressed itself in most vehement lamentations, tears, agonizing groans, and, not unfrequently, in convulsive fits."

What does the learned doctor mean by saying that the Methodists are not satisfied with the ordinary means of grace? They appear to us to find great satisfaction in them, and as an evidence of it, they devote their children to God in baptism, they attend the Lord's

supper,—in the eastern cities at least, not “four times a year,” but regularly once a month; and on the Sabbath day, even when there is no particular excitement, they crowd their churches more than any others are crowded, to hear the preaching of the word. As to the sacraments, perhaps the doctor means that Methodists do not show their “practical religious respect for Rome” and Mercersburg, by adopting the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and the *real spiritual presence*, as Dr. Nevin would express it, of the *human nature* of Christ in the holy supper. Judging the Methodists, then, by their practices, the only fair way of judging in such cases, they seem not only to be satisfied with the ordained means of grace, but to love them. But perhaps the doctor means, not that the Methodists are *dissatisfied* with the ordained means of grace, but that they do not consider them sufficient, and hence add to them their peculiar usages. We, however, would beg leave to dissent from this view of the case; we use no means of grace the *substance* of which is new; we are only “instant out of season” as well as “in season,” in the employment of what is ordained. At our camp-meetings everything is old; we have only preaching, praying, singing, and personal advice to penitents; our prayer-meetings, which Dr. Schaff admits are not modern, and which we scarcely need say, are found in the Acts of the Apostles, require no explanation, much less defence; they rest upon Scriptural promise and example, but, without either, they would have resulted from the spiritual life of the Church, as the necessary outgrowth of the sympathy of praying hearts. Our class-meetings (not to notice the stale, oft-refuted charge of Romanism, especially when coming from Romanizing Mercersburg) are a most happy and successful effort to systematize religious conversation, and to secure its weekly repetition. They afford the members of the Church frequent and regular opportunities to follow the example of those who in early times “continued steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine and *fellowship*,” and with whom personal religion and the interests of Christ’s kingdom were the constant themes of conversation. Similar statements might be made in respect to our mourner’s bench or altar; all that is done there is to sing, and pray, and point the struggling penitent to the promises of the Gospel and the Saviour of sinners. Substantially, then, the Methodists use the means of grace instituted by Christ, and *them only*; and the objections brought against them in this connexion, relate exclusively to non-essential circumstances, such as, that the preaching, the praying, the singing, &c., are done in a grove, in a private house, or at a certain bench or altar, or on a week-day. Concerning these circumstances the apostles and the private

Christians of their day were as little careful as the Methodists; we find them, not only on the Sabbath, but "*daily* with one accord in the temple." Paul goes into the Jewish synagogues and preaches on the Sabbath days; but if it will better serve the cause of Christianity we find him "*disputing daily* in the *school of one Tyrannus*," keeping up these services for two years, until all that dwelt "in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus." At another time the same apostle joins with Silas in social prayer, and in singing at midnight in the prison at Philippi. The first Christian preachers and their followers were intent upon *using the means of grace*; but whether this was done in the temple, in the market-place, in the prison, in the school-room, in the private house, or whether with or without *benches*, made but little difference to them.

There are many other things in this book to which as Methodists we might object as unfair if not spiteful. Another considerable extract, however, shall content us. The author says:—

"The Methodists not only reject confirmation as a useless or hypocritical formalism, but also the idea of an objective baptismal grace, and often in a shocking manner neglect the entire religious training of their children, in the vain, God-tempting expectation that the nervous agitation of an awakening sermon at a camp-meeting, or a few hours at the mourner's bench, will supply the place of the toilsome process of parental discipline and nurture, and regular pastoral instruction. It is therefore no wonder that the young generation, under such influences, grow up so destitute of good manners and morals, and that, in many neighbourhoods where this light straw-fire of Methodistical revival has blazed up brightly, a perfect death has made its appearance, with a profane mockery of all religion."—P. 129.

This is certainly a wonderful passage,—wonderful, especially as coming from a minister of the German Reformed Church, and as uttered against the Methodist Episcopal Church! Where, in the name of all "who draw upon their imagination for their facts," did Dr. Schaff get his information? If some of the multitudes of Methodist parents have neglected the training of their children, as no doubt they have, and that sadly, have they told this accuser of the brethren or his particular friends that they were guilty of this neglect in the expectation that the services of an exciting meeting would supply the place of Christian nurture? Did he learn it from our Discipline, according to which every minister solemnly promises at his ordination, "*diligently to instruct the children in every place?*" which makes it his duty "*to form Sunday schools in our congregations where ten children can be collected;*" "*to preach on the subject of the religious instruction of children once in six months in all our congregations;*" "*to enforce upon Sunday-school teachers and parents the great importance of instructing children in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion;*" "*to catechise the*



children in the Sunday schools and at special meetings appointed for that purpose;" in "his pastoral visits, to speak personally to the children on experimental and practical godliness, according to their capacity," with many other directions on the same subject? Did he learn it from our almost innumerable Sunday schools scattered up and down over the whole country? or from the Sunday School Advocate, visiting the lambs of our flock twice a month, and repeating in their ears the sweet words of Christ, "Suffer little children to come unto me?" or from the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with its untold pious and instructive books for children? Did he find it in our catechisms, plain or pictorial? or has he gone back to the fountain-head and learned it from Mr. Wesley's sermon on the religious education of children? or was it only a generous though unmeaning compliment, intended as part payment for the share we had in restoring life to his "torpid" and "petrified" Church? and especially for "imparting to that new life something of a Methodistic character?" Or, finally, was this written and published in Germany as so many other kindly passages of his book seem to have been, for the purpose of warning Germans about to emigrate to this country against the practical Methodists and their "artfully contrived machinery," and particularly to thwart the sectarian mischief then threatening from the Methodist missions just established in Germany? That this last was an important part of his design, seems probable, not only from the general tone of his strictures upon Methodism, but especially from two or three passages. On page 214, speaking of what has been done in this country toward making spiritual provision for the Germans, our author mentions the labours of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and then tells his Berlin audience, jealous for the honour of their nation, and proud both of their Christianity and their intellectual culture, that the "Methodists have even sent a missionary to Germany, as if it were a heathen land, in order to Christianize it after the Methodist fashion." And on page 270 he says: "A proof of the zeal of the Germano-American Methodists and of their strange overestimate of their mission (aufgabe) is seen in the remarkable circumstance, that recently they have even sent several missionaries to Germany, in order to draw it out of the slough of a real or supposed heathenism, and to Christianize it after the Methodist fashion." A little further on he adds: "Perhaps, indeed, a regular Methodistical thunder-shower in some of the dead regions of Germany might be productive of the most beneficial results; although it might be better it should fall from the native sky, and not be obliged to be first artistically imported from America." It is true, the doctor

advises the authorities not to persecute the missionaries, giving it as his opinion that if Rationalists and Pantheists are tolerated, even in the pulpit, we also ought to be let alone. But let any thoughtful man, not to say Christian, or Christian minister, look at these passages in connexion with the general tone of all he has said on Methodism, and at the same time remember the tender infancy of the Methodist mission in Germany at the time these things were uttered, and let him say, whether in the gentlest judgment of charity, Professor Schaff did not do his utmost in all that, as an adopted American citizen he dare do, to bring our missionaries in Germany into disrepute, to hedge up their way, and to secure their return to America without fruit? All this appears the more wonderful, when we remember that the author himself has told us that full one-half of the Germans who come to this country since the revolutions of 1848 are Rationalists and Infidels, and leaves us to infer that multitudes of the same kind still remain in the fatherland.

We must not fail to mention, before concluding, that Rev. Mr Nippert, one of our missionaries in Germany, has replied to Dr. Schaff's misrepresentations of Methodism in a series of letters, published in the *Christian Apologist*, Cincinnati. These letters are pungent and direct in style, and in spirit, pious, becoming, and dignified.

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Since the above article was written a translation of Dr. Schaff's book has appeared in this country. Among other differences between the original and the translation, we notice the following: On page 172 of the translation, he has slightly modified his account of the ecclesiastical constitution of Methodism. On pages 178 and 179, besides mentioning the period of "torpidity," &c., less specifically than in the original, he withdraws the admission, that "Methodism and Presbyterianism had contributed to the revival of the German Churches;" stating in general terms that those Churches were "awakened from their lethargy by the Anglo-American churches." On page 235 he has left out the strongest part of his most objectionable passage on Romanism; that, namely, in which he confesses for it his "powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically-religious respect."

The third part of the book, as it stood in the original, has been greatly altered and abridged in the translation, for reasons stated by the author.

## ART. VII.—LETTERS ON RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE.

## LETTER VI.

PARIS, October, 1855.

TO THE EDITOR,—A volume has just been published in this city, of which the title and et ceteras are as follow: *Du Sommeil au Point de vue Physiologique et Psychologique*. Par ALBERT LEMOINE, Docteur ès Lettres, &c. Ouvrage Couronné, par l'Institut de France. 1 vol. Paris: 1855.

The programme of this treatise was proposed a year ago by the French Academy, as follows:—"1. Of sleep in a psychological point of view. 2. What are the faculties of the soul that subsist, or are suspended, or considerably modified during sleep? 3. What is the essential difference between dreaming and thinking? The competitors will include in their researches somnambulism and its different species. 4. In natural somnambulism is there consciousness and personal identity? 5. Is artificial somnambulism (mesmerism) a fact? 6. If a fact, to study and describe it in its least contestable phenomena, to determine those of our faculties that are concerned in its operations, and to try to furnish a theory of this state of the soul in accordance with the rules of a soundly philosophic method."

This statement of the thesis, entirely worthy of a learned body, was almost faultless in philosophical precision and subordination. The successful competitor has not done well in overlooking it. A new theory of the whole subject might alone necessitate a change of order, or at least of subdivision, in the details. But when the project went no deeper than the discussion, the development, and the direction upon certain points of facts already known, but unconnectedly, it was quite optional with the author to observe the order so well presented him. This he has by no means done, or only generally and vaguely. No more has he any systematic order of his own. Not, however, that the book appears confused in the perusal. It has the superficial clearness which is the *forte* of the French savant; it is precise in expression, it is perspicuous in arrangement, it is prolixly prudent in restricting inference and speculation; it has the sound but senile character too much in favour with the present Academy, the measure and moderation of which the public also mistake for method. The real confusion and incoherence of books of this class become observable only to the few who grasp the contents at once collectively and concisely. I must attempt to give a succinct abstract of a work of which the subject is of general interest, and is also a special object of American curiosity. In doing this, I shall avail myself of the division of the theme by the Academy to arrange correspondingly the author's results or conclusions. For these alone can be presented within the limits of a mere notice: the connexion between the series of solutions, or at least of answers, will be supplied, when briefly possible, only from the premises of the writer, so that this critical addition will not need distinction in the analysis.

1. To consider sleep "in the psychological point of view," (as proposed,) it is necessary to determine what it is in the physiological. In this respect it is

not a suspension merely of "the life of relation," that is to say, of the senses and other organs that act *externally*; it applies also to the internal organs of nutrition. The heart sleeps between the alternations of pulsation, the lungs between the alternations of respiration; the sleep or rest is only short because the effort is so too. The sole difference in case of the external organs of relation is that the sleep or the repose is, in this instance, much more durable; but it is only so in just proportion to the duration of the labour. The eye could not be closed at short intervals of vision without breaking up the images reflected by exterior objects; audition could not be subjected to a like rapid intermission without disturbing and distorting the impressions of sound; and so of the other senses respectively in their departments. If only one or more of them were liable to this condition, their fragmentary reports would be at variance with the others, and would thus establish in the percipient a sort of subjective chaos; if all the senses were thus intermittent, then the chaos would be also objective; their operation, without continuity enough to seize the images or the relations of external objects, could represent them in no conformity with the reality, and would make even the persistence of animal life upon the earth impossible. It was imperative, then, as a first condition of existence, not to say of rationality, that the repose of the external senses should, like their action, have longer periods. It is this periodic respite, coinciding naturally with the night, which relieves the principal of those organs from the sounds and images besetting them, that is called sleep, physiological sleep.

2. But this is not yet sleep "in the psychological point of view;" that is to say, the sleep of the soul. Here the answer is, The soul does not sleep at all; activity, like immortality, is its inseparable essence. None of its faculties are suspended during the sleep of the body; their operation is obstructed by the resistance of the physical organs, as the will to walk in a paralytic is not suspended but impeded; the modifications thus incurred by them is more or less considerable in proportion to the degree of torpor of the organs to be actuated. And this difference in the degrees of depth, and in the times of incidence, of slumber, which are known perpetually to vary in the divers organs of the senses, is the occasion, by the diversity of their resistance to the surging soul, of dreaming, and the other phenomena of sleep.

3. Is there, then, no essential difference between dreaming and thinking? None whatever in the act itself: the observed difference is in the results, and this proceeds from the three sources just alluded to. The mental vagaries of dreams, &c., are due to false or incomplete impressions received, according as the slumber is complete or only partial, from the interior organs of nutrition, or the exterior organs of relation, or the resistance to the consequent volitions of the soul. The first order of impressing agencies,—such as the motion of the blood, the digestion of the stomach, the secretion of the fluids, &c.,—which derive a special prominence from the suspension of the sensuous organs, give occasion to the most common class of dreams—the dreams of mere *sensation*. The organs of the senses proper, when lulled imperfectly, or only partially, and forced, in absence of external objects, to repeat to that extent their recent processes, affect the soul with the impressions, in of course a mutilated form, of the things that most or last engrossed it when the body was all awake; hence the dreams,

as they are called, of memory, perception, imagination, or as contrasting with the preceding class, the dreams of *intelligence*. The soul proceeding on the elements supplied it from these two sources, and with the confidence which, from the very uniformity of its procedure, it must repose in their reality as when the organs are awake, is often stimulated by them to reaction upon the body, and thus gives rise to a third order, the dreams of action or *volition*. But in all three classes the illusion which is put, in dreaming, upon the soul, is derived exclusively from the impressions; the soul itself and all its faculties remain the same as in its soundest thinking; its very error is an attestation of this identity of state, as the sounder a logician is the more he errs upon a false assumption; even he can be corrected only by control of the other senses; but in the dreamer a certain portion of these mental monitors sleep at their post. It is the same, in due proportion, with the waking visions of the monomaniac, and even the multitude are always dreamers in thoughts that range above the senses.

The dreams of action or volition, which hold the middle in this general series of the psychological phenomena of sleep, embrace, especially, a subdivision of the most remarkable of these phenomena, which have on this account been thought, as usual, of a nature quite peculiar. The sensational and intellectual dreams are known only to the dreamer; the volitional or active dreams express themselves externally, and strike the vulgar in proportion to their coarsely physical perceptibility. The same oversight of the gradation of intermediate stages, which passes equably those three principal divisions into one another, recurs again in the misapprehension of the extreme cases of the active dreams as being, in turn, entirely different phenomena. Thus the volitions of the soul, made in pursuance of the impressions received in sleep from the interior or the vegetative group of organs, are scarcely noticed except in the case of that derangement of the blood or stomach which produces the well-known vision called the *nightmare*. When the exterior or the muscular organs are the occasion of the volitions, and may have thus remained enough awake to obey, we have the *active* dreams of talking, of writing, &c., in sleep; but that of walking, as the more manifest, has named the class *somnambulism*. In the third place, if the impressions and the consequent volitions be confined to the cerebral organs of the intellect, we find the dreamer sometimes conscious that he is dreaming, the soul conducting dialogues and disputations with itself, resolving problems as in Franklin, philosophizing as in Condillac, and, in fact, diving into the distant and the future as in *clairvoyance*. In all these cases of *active* dreaming, as in the *passive* and *perceptive* orders, the soul's three faculties, to wit, sensation, volition, ratiocination, are and act the same essentially as when the body is awake; the results only are modified through the defect of the reports and the degree of the resistances presented by the bodily organs, whether vascular, muscular, or nervous.

The dreams of this last division are included quaintly by the Academy (no doubt too prudish to employ the quack names) in the term "natural *somnambulism*;" and by "artificial *somnambulism*," it means mesmerizing or magnetizing. Its ensuing queries are, if in the former state the soul be conscious of its identity? and if the latter state be, in the first place, a fact?

4. Yes; personal identity continues in the somnambulist, in the ecstatic, in

the maniac, the dreamer, &c.; if not, indeed, in distinct consciousness, in recognition, in implication. When they mistake themselves for other persons, or as performing fantastic parts, or when they utterly forget such scenes on the return of the natural state, the illusion turns really only upon externals more or less intimate, upon localities, upon habiliments, upon sentiments, &c.; the nucleus of the individual remains essentially supposed. It is to this alone, moreover, that consciousness can apply. Consciousness is only one of the three elements of identity. The first of these is, that there be, objectively, a continuous existence; to be always the *same*, it is plainly necessary to be *always*. Consciousness, which is the second and the subjective element, applies but to the distinct instants of the duration; it recognises individuality, but by no means identity. The latter, being a relative notion, or embracing more than a single term, could be acquired only through a corresponding faculty, and accordingly the crowning element of personal identity is the relational condition of reminiscence. But this, connecting the successive consciousnesses at each instant as they arise, and placing thus implicit confidence at every moment with the web of consciousnesses, and occasions no solution of continuity. If, on the contrary, the incident present a scene which is out of nature, or in complete discord with the reality of the situation, the trenchant contrast appears to insulate the ravished soul from its former self, the novel spectacle stands out so strikingly from the whole tenor of the reminiscence as to escape it, like unshaded objects that seem, in painting, to quit the canvass. Ignorance puts upon a peasant the like illusion in a picture, as organic malady puts upon a somnambulist as to his personal identity.

5. Artificial somnambulism or mesmerism is a fact, but with the following rather stringent limitations. The belief in it, as such, leaves undecided these inquiries: What are the cases that are fully verified, and are they new or out of nature? The cause or agency that produces them, which is it, physical or moral? What is the evidential value of the testimony of the dreamer as to the cause and to the character of his condition? One may believe in the production of artificial somnambulism without committing himself pro or con upon any one of these restrictive questions. They may, however, be all pronounced upon already with probability. In the production of the state in question, there is nothing unnatural or even new. Like other arts, it follows nature, and does not force her; it presented itself naturally, in antiquity, to priest and pythoness. The like effects are produced normally by opium or other narcotics. The agent of the magnetizer is not the absurd fluid pretended, but the morbid sensibility or predisposition of the subject. It is a waking case of the reactive class of dreams above explained, the soul's reaction in this instance being in imagination. It was the sense of control by the resistance of the dormant organ that threw the soul, we saw, into its visionary exaltations. But the supreme quality of an "operator" is, analogously to the organ, to impress the subject with a like sense of his control. The whole power of the magnetizers



has been maximized by Virgil: "*Possunt, quia posse CREDUNTUR.*" As to the third point, or the testimony of the party magnetized, the allegation of it is a begging of the question; the sentiments or declarations which are inspired by an illusion can be, of course, no more reliable than the illusion which is their basis. The inevitable subjectivity and unreality of those explanations of the somnambulists themselves, both artificial and spontaneous, is well evinced by the contagiousness of the phenomena at special epochs, and their conformity to the condition of the age and of the individual. Thus the ecstasies of antiquity were endowed mainly with the powers of prophecy, to suit the curiosity of those ages about future events. The ascetically religious preoccupations of the middle ages gave the somnambulists the form of demoniacs; in our own day, the American "mediums" are the reporters of departed spirits, whose revelations are as puerile as the conversations of the community.

6. The final article of the programme is not a question, but a condition, a requisition as to the manner in which the subject should be treated. I briefly indicated at the outset the general manner of the author, much less conformable, I think, to method than to the spirit of the Academy; and hence, perhaps, in large part, his coronation. I close with a transcription of the author's summary conclusion:—

"Man is never wholly either healthy or sick, either wise or insane, either awake or asleep. He carries sickness in health, and health in the midst of sickness; reason still persists in the delirium of the maniac, and folly is commingled with the meditations of the sage. Never have the organs of the senses, all together, or even each of them in particular, that supreme or main degree of agility and of lucidity which would be properly called wakefulness; never are they buried in that profound torpor which would be absolute sleep. The waking and the healthy states of the body and of the mind are, as it were, an ideal type which is never realized in life. We designate by the words malady, madness, sleep, the states which diverge widely from the ordinary conditions of life and from the regular course of nature, uncertain by what names to call the states of our body and soul, which vary slightly, or but transiently, from an unsettled and relative main. At every instant, and on all sides, we quit this salutary temperament which constitutes the free possession of one's self and of his organs. Nothing is more difficult than to limit and define, perhaps because there are no limits in the continuous order of nature. Liberty, reason, are the attributes of man; but where do they commence, where do they terminate? The child who does not yet enjoy them, the idiot who will do so never, the madman who has lost them irrecoverably, the sleeper in whom they rest for a time, are they not human? Sensibility, activity, intelligence, range over the infinite degrees of a vast scale: by turns crude, obscure, confused or noble, clear or subtle, they descend or ascend with different ages, with varying conditions and circumstances. . . .

"A firm and directive will can alone maintain all the powers of our soul in the high position assigned by nature to man. Man is culpable when he abdicates it voluntarily. But this moderating power is wrested from him periodically by sleeps, and sometimes violently by the derangement of his organs. Sleep, somnambulism, ecstasy, pass the intellect through all its conditions and degrees; they crush its energy, blunt its senses, obscure its thoughts, or they give it an abnormal ardour, exquisiteness, exaltation. Sometimes the sleeper is like the animal that vegetates, immovable in his place and almost insensible; sometimes he perceives confusedly interior or exterior pain. Anon the dreamer has but the absurd or imbecile visions of the madman; anon his thoughts are clear and consequent, as when awake. In fine, the ecstatic somnambulist, in his extravagant delirium, is sometimes rapt away from the reality: but sometimes his intelligence is lucid and almost rational. At the same time, however closely

the human intellect may descend, in profound sleep and idiotism, to the unintelligent and senseless animals, it remains always unalterable, with all its powers; for it is not in the power of matter to extinguish in our souls completely the torch of reason, though it were to burn there without light and without heat. But, on the other hand, however high the excited organs may seem to carry it, they have still less the power of giving it new faculties."

"*A Theory of Natural History, General and Special*, by ISIDORE GEOFFROY DE ST. HILAIRE, Professor in the Museum of Natural History of this city," is a work that merits the attention of your scientific readers. With all the positive and precise doctrines of the merely practical treatises, it mixes an unusual quantity of philosophical discussion, which supplies a sort of heaven to make more digestible those technicalities. The first volume of the work, which has alone appeared as yet, might indeed pass for being a treatise of logic. It discusses all the methods affected specially to all the sciences, from the syllogism of Aristotle to the social methods of M. Comte. The author is not equally at home in all those branches; he shares the general defects in their definition and classification. Yet his views are, if but mainly from the comprehensiveness of the survey, much more sound, upon the whole, than is habitual to French savans. It may, moreover, be admitted, in apology for the deficiencies, that the discussion of the other methods was intended only as subsidiary to the enforcement of that applied by him to the department of Natural History.

How he has treated this his *specialité*, it would be rash, no doubt, in me to judge. M. Isidore is the son and pupil of the illustrious St. Hilaire who is the founder, at least in France, of the progressive school of physiology; and he assumes to be his heir in science as well as in succession. I may, however, venture on a single observation as to a point wherein his competency should be certainly the least contestable. His father, Geoffroy, was, it is known, the rival of Cuvier; they were antagonists in both the method and the theory of natural history. The latter was empirical, or what is vulgarly called inductive; he kept to "facts," and was the oracle of the past. St. Hilaire was deductive, analytic, a man of theory, the organ of the future, and therefore persecuted by the present. A pious purpose of the son is to vindicate the father's system; but to this end he wisely seeks to reconcile the rival theories. The most decisive means to this, however, though well known to him, he overlooks. In a previous portion of the volume, he had shown that the two methods known scholastically as synthesis and analysis, so far from being antagonistic, as is commonly supposed, are quite concordant with and complementary of each other. But these procedures were respectively the philosophical characteristics of the hostile schools of Cuvier and of St. Hilaire: the former synthesized the past, the latter analyzed the future, or unexplored, of the same department of nature. Their scientific coöperation would then be demonstrated by their methods. But our author, with this means of demonstration before his eyes, adduces nothing for the fusion except feeble generalities: a proof presumptive that his conception of the methods mentioned is not still complete, nor perhaps even that of the theory of his father. What would confirm this alternative is, that in labouring to jus-

tify his father's celebrated "*Theory of Analogues*," he fails distressingly to show its scientific character. He need, however, but define it an application to anatomy of the method of *analogy*, that is, induction of relations. And hence, no doubt, the title adopted quaintly by the great discoverer, with his habitually profound, but tortuous or unsystematical sagacity. Despite these blemishes upon the frontispiece of the great project of the son, I commend the body of his structure, and its various contents, to your men of science.

Not to forget a much more numerous and worthy portion of your readers, I must announce to them a new volume, of which the title runs as follows:—*Missions de Chine. Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la Mission du Kiang-Nan. Par le R. P. BROUILLON de la Compagnie de Jesus. Paris: 1855.*

The most generally interesting portion of the volume, and which occupies about one-half of its five hundred pages, is found in the Letters, which were written on the spot, from time to time, throughout the progress of the revolution which they describe. There is, besides, an introduction that treats the subject systematically. The account of Father *Brouillon* seems, however, worthy of his name. Take, for example, the following resumé of the disquisition:—"The Chinese insurrection is a product of the country; all sorts of sufferings and of resentments have been preparing it; the secret societies of Asia have fomented it, and those of Europe are not without hand in its existence. A thousand passions, a thousand interests, urge onward the movement. The discontented and the oppressed invoke it more or less loudly; the people wish it with its advantages, but without its disasters; foreigners await it; some of them second it, the devil would direct it, but God conducts it." And of course into the net of the Jesuits! It is probably this destination, depending mainly on his faith, but in patent conflict with the facts which are presented in his Letters, that produces this flat jumble in the explanation of the father. Indeed, he owns expressly that the tendency of the Chinese prophet is rather to follow Mohammed than Christ; but he no less expects that God will bring the issue to his own account, which is to say, to that of Catholicity.

Accordingly, the father and his brethren have their net spread in the shape of a mission at Nankin. The Catholics have in the city of Nankin and its province over seventy-two thousand neophytes and catechumens. With this nucleus they would not dread the competition of their Protestant rivals, if "*only the French government would give them something of the support which the official agents of America and England give their missionaries.*" You may think the foreigners alluded to, in the passage cited, mean the Protestants. But no; the queer allusion is to Garibaldi and his Italian radicals. The Jesuit naturally sees the red hand of those mortal enemies of the Pope emerging in the remote regions and domestic broils of the Celestial Empire. O.

## ART. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

(1.) "*Roemer's Polyglot Readers, English, French, and German*," (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 3 vols. 12mo.) contain copious reading lessons in the three languages named, and are designed at once to facilitate the process of acquiring them and to make that acquisition solid. The method recommended by the author is that of double translation, in which the learner first turns the foreign language into the vernacular, and then retranslates it after some time has elapsed. Professor Roemer has prefixed to one of the volumes an essay on "The Study of Languages," which, bating its undue length, is every way admirable. The books furnish excellent means of using the most excellent method of studying French and German, and we cordially commend them to all teachers and students of these languages. They are especially adapted for self-instruction.

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(2.) "*Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, by CATHARINE E. BEECHER." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 223.) There is no earthly subject on which the American people more need "line upon line and precept upon precept" than upon the laws of health. As Miss Beecher remarks in the first letter of the admirable series which make up this volume, "our people are pursuing a course, in their own habits and practices, which is destroying health and happiness to an extent that is perfectly appalling." Nor is it less true that "the majority of parents in this nation are systematically educating the rising generation to be feeble, deformed, sickly, and miserable; as much so as if it were their express aim to commit so monstrous a folly." The existence of the evil is plain and undeniable; to remedy it is not so easy. If this little volume could only be read by every parent in the land, the chances of the next generation would be greatly improved. It treats, first, of the human organs; secondly, of the laws of health; thirdly, of abuses of the organs; fourthly, of the evils resulting from such abuses; and fifthly, of the remedies for these evils. All these heads are treated with discrimination, and yet with great force and clearness. We recommend the volume without qualification.

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(3.) We have received a copy of Dr. Armitage's "*Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. S. H. CONE, D. D.*," which has been printed at the request of the bereaved Church. It gives a brief but clear sketch of Dr. Cone's life, and bears ample testimony to the many noble qualities that adorned the character of that eminent servant of God.

(4.) "*Learning to Talk; or, Entertaining and Instructive Lessons in the Use of Language*, by JACOB ABBOTT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855.) This admirable little book contains a series of pictures intended for very young children, with descriptions accompanying them. Its greatest advantage will be found to lie in the power of observation which the continued use of the book cannot fail to give a child.

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(5.) ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS have published a new edition of "*The Acts and Monuments of the Church, containing the History and Sufferings of the Martyrs*, by JOHN FOXE." (New-York, 1855; royal 8vo., pp. 1082.) No book in the English language has done more to keep alive the memory, and to maintain the principles of the Reformation, than "Faxe's Book of Martyrs." It should be a household book in every Protestant family; and the Messrs. Carter have contributed their share to make it such by the opportune issue of this new and improved edition. While it omits a number of unimportant documents and narrations that encumbered former editions, it gives, in an appendix, accounts of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, of the Spanish Armada, of the Gunpowder Plot, and of the Irish rebellion of 1745, all written by authors contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events. The entire work has passed under the careful editorial supervision of the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, whose "*Evenings with the Romanists*," and other works, have made him so popular with the Protestant public of England and America.

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(6.) "*Mexico and her Religion*, by R. A. WILSON." (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 406.) A little more system would have added greatly to the value of this book. It contains a graphic narration of the author's travels in Mexico, a large amount of historical information, and much critical detail; but they are all thrown together without art or skill. In spite of these defects, the book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Mexico. The author is shrewd and clear-headed, and, while he sees well, knows how to describe what he sees in vigorous language.

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(7.) "*Scenes in the Practice of a New-York Surgeon*, by E. H. DIXON, M.D." (New-York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1855; 12mo., pp. 407.) This volume is made up of extracts from the "*Scalpel*,"—a journal designed, we believe, to convey medical knowledge to the people in a popular and attractive form. It contains many striking narratives, and gives at the same time a good deal of information.

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(8.) ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS have published a new edition (the fourth) of "*The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, by JAMES M'COSH, LL. D." (New-York, 1855; 8vo., pp. 547.) This work has been so often and so fully discussed in our pages that it is only necessary for

us now to mention what is peculiar to this edition. The book has been revised throughout; the second part is enlarged by a fuller epitome of the author's views on the forms and colours of plants; and, in an appendix, Dr. McCosh ventures a protest against certain principles set forth by Sir William Hamilton and by Professor Bledsoe, in the pages of this review and in his *Theodicy*. On the points in controversy we are still of opinion that Dr. McCosh's views lack profoundness and coherency: he writes like a man trying to hold two contradictory theories at one and the same time.

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(9.) "*The Sure Anchor; or, the Young Christian Admonished, Encouraged, and Exhorted*, by the Rev. H. P. ANDREWS," (Boston: J. P. Magee, 1855; 12mo., pp. 216,) is one of the very best of the many books of its class that have fallen under our notice. It is thoroughly evangelical in principle; clear in statement; lucid, lively, and often eloquent in style; and at once apt and ample in illustration. We trust it will be widely circulated.

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(10.) "*Bishop Butler's Ethical Discourses*, edited by the Rev. J. C. PASSMORE, A. M." (Philadelphia: C. Desilver; 12mo., pp. 375.) It was the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh that the truths contained in these sermons are "more worthy of the name of *discovery* than any other with which we are acquainted, if we ought not, with some hesitation, to except the first steps of the Grecian philosophers toward a theory of morals." The difficulty of Butler's style, which is, perhaps, greater in these ethical discourses than in the "*Analogy*," has generally prevented their use as a college text-book; but the helps presented in Professor Passmore's excellent edition go far to do away with this objection. He has prefixed to the text an excellent *Life of Butler*, and also Whewell's *Syllabus of Butler's Sermons*. In an appendix he reprints the *Remains of Butler*, which were first published in London in 1853, from MSS. in the library of the British Museum. The work is executed throughout in a careful and scholarly manner.

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(11.) "*Tales from English History*" (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 344) will afford an excellent substitute for story-books to be put into the hands of young persons. It is excellent both in style and sentiment

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(12.) "*The Southern Cross and Southern Crown*, by Miss TUCKER," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 18mo., pp. 263,) contains a clear account of the missions in New-Zealand, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. To get a complete knowledge of the progress of Christianity in these far-off isles, one must add to the present work Miss Farmer's "*Tonga and the Friendly Isles*," Lowry's "*Missions in Tonga and Feejee*," and Mr. Young's "*Southern World*."



(13.) "*A Geography of the Chief Places mentioned in the Bible*, by CHARLES A. GOODRICH," (New-York: Carter & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 195,) is a little manual so well furnished with questions, maps, &c., as to be admirably adapted for use in parental, Sabbath school, and Bible-class instruction. Being alphabetically arranged, it will also be of use as a Bible dictionary for children.

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(14.) THE General Conference of 1852 ordered the Book-Agents at New-York to publish the "*Journals of the General Conferences*," from the organization of the Church up to 1836 inclusive. The order is now obeyed in the publication of a handsome octavo, containing all the extant Journals, with an index. (Carlton & Phillips; pp. 504.) In the preface the editor remarks:—

"Up to the year 1792 the Church business had been conducted in the annual conferences, the minutes of which are printed in the bound minutes, (so called,) always kept on sale at 200 Mulberry-street. The Christmas Conference of 1784, at which the Church was fully organized, may indeed be considered as a General Conference; but I can find no minutes of its session except those printed in the set above mentioned (vol. 1, page 21) as part of the 'Minutes of the Annual Conference for 1785.' A full account of the doings of the conference, with the Discipline ordained by it, may be found in Bangs's 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,' (vol. 1, pp. 161-218.)

"The Minutes of the General Conference for 1792 were never printed, to my knowledge, nor can I find the original copy. Those of 1796 were published in a compendious form, which is now reprinted."

In connexion with this, the agents have reprinted, as a second volume, the "*Journals and Debates of the General Conferences from 1840 to 1844*" inclusive; but either volume can be had separately.

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(15.) "*The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages*, by L. MARIA CHILD." (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co., 1855; 3 vols. 12mo.) To write such a book as this title would indicate should be the last result, the crowning *opus* of vast and various learning. Yet Mrs. Child tells us, in her preface, with admirable *naïveté*, that "a learned person could have performed the task far better in many respects," but that, on some accounts, she has found her "want of learning an advantage!" In the same strain she goes on: "Thoughts do not range so freely when the store-room of the brain is overloaded with furniture. In the course of my investigations, I have frequently observed that a great amount of erudition becomes a veil of thick cloud between the subject and the reader. Moreover, learned men can rarely have such freedom from any sectarian bias as the circumstances of my life have produced in me." This is something like Sydney Smith's advice to reviewers, not to read books before reviewing them,—"*it prejudices one so.*" With such notions of the proper prerequisites for her task, Mrs. Child undertakes to develop the progress of religious ideas in Hindoostan, Egypt, China, Chaldea, Persia, Greece, Rome, India, and Christendom! The whole work, on which the writer has been labouring, more or less, for eight years, is one of the most marvellous instances of toil misspent and talent misapplied that the history of literature affords.

(16.) "*A Voice from the Pious Dead of the Medical Profession*, by HENRY J. BROWN, M. D." (Philadelphia, 1855; 12mo., pp. 320.) This volume contains a series of biographical sketches of physicians who have been eminent as well for religious life as for professional skill. It contains also a preliminary dissertation on Christianity, which is striking, not only from its form but from its matter. The author's aim is to refute the charge, so often made, that science and Christianity are incompatible, and to recommend practical religion to medical men by illustrations of its value in the lives of some of the most eminent of their profession. The book is very well prepared in all respects, and deserves to be widely circulated.

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(17.) "*The Iroquois; or, the Bright Side of Indian Character*, by MINNIE MYRTLE." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 317.) It is very true, as the author remarks in her preface, that our books of history are very "deficient in what they relate of the Indians, and most of them are still filling the minds of children and youth with very false ideas." To give a fair and just account of the habits, manners, and history of the Iroquois is the object of the present attractive volume, which conveys a large amount of information in a most agreeable and interesting form. The biographies of Indian braves and wise men which are here given surpass in interest the romances of Indian life, which generally exaggerate all that is good and all that is bad in the Indian character.

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(18.) "*Panama in 1855*, by ROBERT TOMES," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 246,) is a very graphic account of a trip across the Isthmus, made at the expense of the Panama Railway Company on the opening of their road from ocean to ocean in February, 1855. Besides giving much valuable information about the railway, and the country through which it passes, the book is full of graphic, personal narrative, and its interest never flags. Its moral tone, however, is anything but commendable.

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(19.) "*Evenings with the Romanists*, by the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M. A." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 479.) There are many worthless books upon the Roman controversy put out, but this does not belong to the class. It takes up all the main points in dispute between Romanists and Protestants—such as the reading of the Scriptures, the unity of the Church, confession and absolution, the mass, the papal supremacy, &c., and treats them, by direct appeal to Scripture and reason, with a calmness of discussion and a fairness of argument that hardly even Romanists could find fault with. As a manual of the controversy, for ordinary readers, the book is invaluable.

There is a curious history connected with the reprinting of this book, as we learn by a slip from the "Protestant Churchman." An edition of the work was issued some months ago by Mr. H. Hooker, of Philadelphia:—

"The title-page professes to be a complete republication of the original English book, omitting simply the mention of the introductory chapter, which we afterward

find has been left out. As 'Seymour's Evenings with the Romanists, republished by H. Hooker,' we received the work, supposing we were to read the book thus described. We found it, in itself, most suspicious, extremely meagre in its doctrine, and unsound in its conclusions; surprising characteristics as coming from a man whom we knew to be so thoroughly Protestant and evangelical as a minister of the Church of England. 'The advertisement' prefixed to this American edition announced that the 'introductory chapter, which was of a general nature, and parts of other chapters, in the London edition, which seemed to be redundant, or least adapted to be useful here, have been omitted; while the author is left everywhere to speak in his own words without addition or alteration.' We should have supposed, of course, that such a notice was true and full. But we were subsequently induced to compare this edition with the English one, and our astonishment at the unfaithfulness of the republication was extreme. We found more than one-third of the book thrown out. *Two whole chapters*, besides the introductory, rejected with no notice of the fact. *Many pages together*, in repeated places, cut out, and the extremes bounding them brought together and joined, as if immediately consequent and connected. Sometimes even a *sentence thus divided*, and two separate parts of separate sentences, brought together as if originally one. But even this is not the whole difficulty, nor the half of it. The passages omitted are *habitually the faithful testimony of the author's Protestant and Scriptural doctrine*, and the very best and most useful parts of the book; while such connexions are sometimes made of passages as make him to teach the very opposite to what he intended to teach. And yet the advertisement says, '*the author is left everywhere to speak in his own words, without alteration or addition.*' Who has been the agent of thus dishonestly garbling this valuable book we do not pretend to know. The publisher's name is the only one connected with it, and, though we do not charge him personally with the unjust omissions of which we speak, he must bear the whole responsibility. We warn our readers against buying this book as 'Seymour's Evenings with the Romanists,' which it is not. If the publisher had hired a Romish priest to expurgate the work, he could hardly have done it more effectually for the Papists' purposes. And we are sure the excellent author would remonstrate with a just indignation against such an outrageous perversion of his work, if he should ever find a copy of it before him."

We need hardly add that Messrs. Carter's edition is an exact reprint of the English text.

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(20.) "*Memoir of S. S. Prentiss*, edited by his Brother." (New-York: C. Scribner, 1855; 2 vols. 12mo.) The subject of this memoir is well remembered as one of the most brilliant political speakers this country has produced. These volumes reveal his family life, in which he appears as a kind and affectionate son, brother, husband, and father. Pity that these "natural virtues" had never been sanctified by personal religion. One cannot read without sadness this sketch of a career so brief, yet so brilliant: so splendid, yet so full of disappointments. The interest of the work is very great: it would have been greater if the two volumes had been condensed, as they might easily have been, into one.

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(21.) "*Introduction to Biblical Chronology from Adam to the Resurrection of Christ*, by PETER AKERS, D. D." (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1855; 8vo., pp. 411.) Of this elaborate work no one is competent to speak critically who has not carefully and thoroughly studied it. At present we can only express our gratification to find among our ministry one capable and willing to go through the long-continued labour of preparing such a book. A careful review, by a competent writer, is in preparation for our pages.

(22.) "*The Christ of History*, by JOHN YOUNG, M. A." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 260.) The argument of this work, at least in an extended form, is novel. Taking as a basis the simple fact of Christ's humanity, the author undertakes to demonstrate from it his divinity; or, as he expresses it in his preface, "dismissing all preconceptions, assuming nothing which is not virtually and even formally admitted by enemies as well as friends," he hopes to show that the *manhood* of Christ, as it appealed to the senses and to the minds of the men of his own times, "supplies and sustains the proof of his *Godhead*." He does not assume the inspiration of the Scriptures, but only takes for granted, in a broad and general sense, that they are historical and veritable—a point which is, in fact, granted even by infidels. The argument may be simply stated in one sentence, namely, that such a human life as that of Jesus Christ is utterly inexplicable, except on the ground of his Divinity. The work is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of *The Outer Conditions of the Life of Christ*, namely, his social position, the shortness of his earthly course, and the age and place in which he appeared. Book second treats of *The Work of Christ among Men*, unfolding his ministry and his doctrine, both as to its matter and form. The third book treats of *The Spiritual Individuality of Christ*, his oneness with God, his moral perfection, both in motive and in feeling, &c. This outline will suffice to show that the author really comprehends the scope of his present theme, and grasps it with a master's hand. His learning is well up to his undertaking, and his logic matches his learning. The work will certainly make its mark upon the times.

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(23.) "*The Christian Life, Social and Individual*, by PETER BAYNE, A. M." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1855; 12mo.) This is another very noticeable book, both from its aims and its execution. The first part is a statement of what the Christian life is, or ought to be, both individually and socially; and part second is an exposition of this statement, and an illustration of it in actual biographies. In the first place Christianity is set forth as the *basis of social life*; and, as illustrations, we have three biographical sketches, namely, Howard, and the rise of philanthropy; Wilberforce, and the development of philanthropy; and Budgett, the Christian Freeman. In the second place our author sets forth Christianity as the *basis of individual character*; and for illustration, he gives us sketches of John Foster, Thomas Arnold, and Dr. Chalmers. Part III treats briefly of the "Positive Philosophy" and of "Panthæistic Spiritualism." Mr. Bayne conducts his argument very skilfully; and some of his biographical sketches are masterpieces of condensed and vigorous narrative. For young persons of a skeptical turn—especially such as are carried away by Thomas Carlyle—this book will be a valuable medicine; and it is so well prepared that the medicine will be by no means "hard to take."

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(24.) "*The Parabolic Teachings of Christ*, by the Rev. D. K. DRUMMOND." (New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1855; 12mo., pp. 440.) In the Introduction Mr. Drummond defines the "parable," and, at the same time, includes the "allegory" and the "proverb" of the New Testament under the

one head of "parabolic teaching." He thus introduces the "Good Shepherd," the "True Vine," &c., which are generally excluded from expositions of the parables. His principle of interpretation aims at avoiding the extreme of finding too much in the parable, on the one hand, and too little on the other. Another peculiarity of the work is, the classification adopted by the author, with a view to throw light upon the individual parables by regarding them as parts of a system. This attempt, which we consider laudable in itself, though some of the best expositors pronounce it vain, has often been made before, and we think, in some cases, more successfully than by Mr. Drummond. His divisions are—I. Man in Satan's Kingdom; II. The Prince of the Kingdom of Light; III. Christ's Work in its Personal Character; IV. Christ's Work in its Historical and Prophetical Character; V. The Second Coming of Christ. As a whole, the work is a valuable contribution to our expository literature.

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(25.) "*Waikna; or, Adventures on the Mosquito Shore*, by SAMUEL A. BARD," (New-York: Harper & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 366.) is certainly very pleasant reading, but whether fact or fiction most abounds in its pages it is hard to tell. Its detail of personal adventure reads like a romance; its descriptions of the Mosquito country and people have the air of truth. At all events, the author has succeeded in making an exceedingly attractive book out of very unpromising materials.

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(26.) "*The Contrast between Good and Bad Men illustrated by the Biography and Truths of the Bible*, by GARDINER SPRING, D. D." (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1855; 2 vols., 12mo.) The title of this book hardly conveys a true idea of its nature. It is, in fact, a series of practical lectures and sermons, chiefly founded on the *characters* of Scripture; and, as such, it is a good and useful book. Dr. Spring's writings are not remarkable for force or originality of thought; but they are generally clear, sensible, and suggestive.

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(27.) WE have seldom seen a religious novel, so called, that we could recommend so freely as "*Nellie of Truro*." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 12mo., pp. 432.) It is a great advance, in every respect, upon "*Vara*," by the same author, published some months since. The narrative is simple throughout; the incidents are natural and well grouped; the dialogue is sometimes spun out to a wearisome extent, but is otherwise sufficiently dramatic; and the moral tone is not only unexceptionable but praiseworthy. The whole impression left by the book is that a simple and child-like faith in Christ is the best of all preparations, not merely for the next world, but for this.

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(28.) WHEN Sir David Wilkie was setting out on his journey to the East, a friend asked him if he had any guide-book? He replied, "Yes, and the very best," pulling out his pocket Bible. So also, on the other hand, he wrote back from the East, that "to the painter of sacred history, this whole territory supplies what can be learned nowhere else." These thoughts are well worked out in "*Bible Light from Bible Lands, by the Rev. JOSEPH ANDERSON*." (New-

York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1856; 12mo., pp. 344.) Mr. Anderson has travelled through the lands of the Bible, and has given us the results of his observations in this volume, not in the shape of a diary, or of a book of travels simply, as so many have done before him, but in a form which blends the attractions of personal narrative with the instruction of a systematic treatise. The work is divided into three books, of which the first is entitled, "*Predictions verified*:" and under this head Mr. Anderson compares the prophecies concerning Egypt, Arabia, Idumea, and the land of Israel, with the present condition of those countries as seen by his own eyes. The second book treats of "*Descriptions illustrated*," and gives apt accounts of places, customs, usages, &c., now existing, as illustrative of the Bible records. The third book, "*Allusions explained*," sets forth, in the clear light of existing facts, many passages of Scripture which, from their allusions to purely Oriental habits, &c., are obscure to Western readers. Our readers may see from this outline that the book is a remarkably sensible one; indeed, we know no better "companion to the Bible" for ordinary readers, so far as mere illustration is concerned.

(29.) QUITE similar in its aims and execution to the book just named is, "*Illustrations of Scripture, suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land*, by PROFESSOR H. B. HACKETT." (Boston: Heath & Graves, 1855; 12mo., pp. 340.) As the author states in his preface, the work does not claim to be a book of travels, and would be misjudged if viewed in that light. The object has been, not to present a connected view of the geography of Palestine, or to detail at any length the personal incidents which travellers usually make so prominent in their journals; but out of the mass of observations and facts which fell under the writer's notice, to select those which seemed to be capable of being used with some advantage, for the purpose of promoting a more earnest and intelligent study of the sacred volume. Professor Hackett has carried out his purpose admirably; so, while his work has the substantial merits of a scientific description of the Holy Land, it has the charms of a personal narrative admirably told. The following specimen alone will suffice to show what varied powers and acquisitions the author brings to his task:—

"Eastern brooks in general flow with water during the rainy season; but, after that, are liable to be soon dried up, or, if they contain water, contain it only for a longer or shorter time, according to their situation and the severity of the heat of particular years. Hence the traveller in quest of water must often be disappointed when he comes to such streams. He may find them entirely dry; or, he may find the water gone at the place where he approaches them, though it may still linger in other places which elude his observation; he may perceive, from the moisture of the ground, that the last drops have just disappeared, and that he has arrived but a few hours too late for the attainment of his object.

"The chances of obtaining water in the desert are equally precarious. The winter torrents there, owing to the rapidity with which the sand absorbs them, are still more transient. The spring which supplied a well yesterday, may fail to-day; or the drifting sand may choke it up and obliterate every trace of it. On the ninth day of my journey after leaving Cairo, we heard of a well at some distance from the regular course, and as the animals (except the camels) needed to be watered, we turned aside to visit the place. We travelled for some miles over immense sand-heaps and under a burning sun, with the thermometer at ninety degrees of Fahrenheit. It was our lot to be disappointed. We found the well, indeed, but without a drop of water in it that could be reached by us. The



wind had blown the sand into it, and buried it up to such a depth that all hope of relief from that source was cut off.

"The liability of a person in the East to be deceived in his expectation of finding water is the subject of repeated allusion in the Scriptures. In Job vi, 15, sq., it furnishes an expressive image for representing the fickleness of false-hearted friends:—

"My brethren have dealt deceitfully like a brook,  
As the channel of brooks which pass away;  
Which are turbid by reason of the ice,  
In which is hidden the melted snow.  
As soon as the waters flow off they are gone;  
When the heat comes, they vanish from their place.  
The caravans on their way turn aside;  
They go up into the desert, and perish.  
The caravans of Tema search anxiously,  
The wayfarers of Sheba look to them with hope.  
They are ashamed because they trusted in them;  
They come to them and are confounded."

"Our English version of the above passage fails to bring out the image distinctly. The foregoing translation, which I have brought nearer to the original, may be made clearer, perhaps, by a word of explanation. The idea is, that in the spring the streams are full; they rush along swollen from the effect of the melting snow and ice. Summer comes, and they can no longer be trusted. Those journeying in the region of such streams, fainting with thirst, travel many a weary step out of the way in quest of them, in the hope that water may still be found in them. They arrive at the place, but only to be disappointed. The deceitful brook has fled. They were in the last extremity—it was their last hope, and they die."—P. 17.

The work is filled with passages of similar beauty and aptness.

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(30.) "*Sallust's Jugurtha and Catiline, with Notes and a Vocabulary*, by NOBLE BUTLER and MINARD STURGIS." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855; 12mo, pp. 397.) In this edition we have the text printed in clear and large type, a copious and carefully prepared vocabulary, and a sufficient body of notes. The vocabulary was prepared by the late W. H. G. Butler, who, it will be remembered, fell by the hand of Ward, in Louisville. It bears the marks of a faithful and scholarly mind, and deserves the encomiums of the editors of the book, namely, "that few school vocabularies so thorough and accurate have ever been published." The notes are mainly grammatical and illustrative, not, as is too often the case, filled out with needless and pedantic references, or with worse than useless translations of the text. We cordially commend the book as an excellent school edition. We hope that in the next edition the vocabulary will be placed where it should be, at the end of the volume.

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(31.) AMONG the latest issues of Mr. BOHN'S "Libraries," we have "*The Works of Philo-Judæus*, translated by C. D. YONGE, B. A." (12mo, pp. 490.) This volume completes the work, so that the entire works of Philo, which have heretofore been inaccessible to the English reader, are now put within the reach of very narrow purses. We find, also, the second volume of "*Pliny's Natural History*" in the "Classical Library." The most acceptable book to metaphysical readers in all the series thus far published, is the "*Critique of Pure Reason*, translated from the German of IMMANUEL KANT." (12mo, pp. 517.) The translation is by Mr. Meiklejohn, who has succeeded far better than all

who have preceded him in attempting to introduce Kant to English readers. Whatever difficulty the reader may find here will be due to the abstruseness of the matter, and not, as is so often the case, to the incapacity of the translator.

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(32.) OUR Sunday-School Union has been very prolific in its issues of late, and the quality is equal to the quantity. The "*Child's Preacher*" (18mo., pp. 451) contains a series of addresses to the young, founded on Scripture texts, a volume which will be very useful in showing *how* the young ought to be preached to. "*Childhood, or Little Alice*," (square 12mo.,) is a very pretty and simple story for children, well written and beautifully illustrated. To say that "*Stories for Village Lads*" (18mo., pp. 176) is by the author of "*Frank Harrison*," will be enough to commend it to young readers. "*The Contrast*" (pp. 156) gives an account of two young men who were convinced of sin at the same time, one of whom denied his Master and died without hope, while the other became a faithful minister of the Gospel. "*The Herbert Family*" is an epistolatory narrative, contrasting religion with infidelity from the effects of each. All our readers are familiar with the writings of "Old Humphrey"—a name dear to little folks. He has ceased to write, and we now have a "*Memoir of Old Humphrey, with Gleanings from his Portfolio*," (18mo., pp. 298.) This memoir of the excellent Mr. Mogridge will be acceptable not only to the children, but to all older readers who value Christian devotion. "*Blooming Hopes and Withered Joys*" is a collection of narratives and stories by the Rev. J. T. BARR, the well-known author of the "*Merchant's Daughter*." "*Four Days in July*" is a sketch of a pleasant excursion to the country, by one of the best writers employed for the Sunday-School Union. Perhaps the best of all the story-books recently issued is "*Johnny M'Kay; or, the Sovereign*," the story of an honest boy: we have read it through at a sitting. The fourth volume of the "*Early Dead*" contains brief memoirs of deceased Sunday-school children, on the same plan as those given in the previous volumes.

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(33.) "*A String of Pearls*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1855; square 12mo.) contains a verse of Scripture and a pious reflection for every day in the year. Such books, when well prepared, are useful to Christians of all ages, and the present one contains selections made with admirable taste and skill.

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(34.) MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS propose to reprint "*Bohn's Classical Library*" entire, and to furnish it at even lower prices than the London edition has been heretofore sold. We have already received "*Smart's Translation of Horace, revised by T. A. BUCKLEY*," (12mo., pp. 325.) which is too well known to need any notice at our hands, except the expression of a wish that a new and better translation had been prepared, instead of this reprint of a comparatively bad one. The next issue is "*Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars*," (12mo., pp. 572,) a translation of far higher character than the preceding, and accompanied by notes and a careful index. "*Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus*, translated by the Rev. J. S. WATSON, M. A." (12mo., pp. 538.) The translations are, in the main, easy and reada-

ble; pains have been taken with the text, and a careful index is added. "*Xenophon's Anabasis and Memorabilia*," by the same translator, is an improvement upon the previous versions of Spelman & Fielding. A Geographical Commentary by Mr. Ainsworth, author of "*Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks*," is added to the book, and is of great value as an illustration of the *Anabasis*. "*Davidson's Virgil*" (12mo., pp. 404) has been carefully revised for this edition, by Mr. Buckley, who has added notes for the use of more advanced scholars. One of the most acceptable volumes in the series is "*Cicero's Offices, Cato Major, Lælius, Paradozes, and Scipio's Dream*," by C. R. EDWARDS." (12mo., pp. 343.) In the notes, the editor adduces, very copiously, the opinions of modern moralists, to aid the reader in comparing them with Cicero's. The enterprise of placing these versions of the great classic writers within the reach of all readers of English at such unprecedentedly low prices is a very laudable one, and nothing but a most extensive sale can bear the publishers out in it. We trust that their largest expectations will be realized.

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(35.) WE are glad to see that a second edition of "*Select Popular Orationes of Demosthenes, with Notes and a Chronological Table*," by J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor in Waterville College," (Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1855; 12mo., pp. 237.) has been published. We have before given an unqualified commendation of this work, and now need only say that this new edition has been carefully revised by the accomplished editor.

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(36.) "*The Priest, the Puritan, and the Preacher*," by the Rev. J. C. RYLE." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 18mo., pp. 360.) The "Priest" is Bishop Latimer; the "Puritan" is Richard Baxter; and the "Preacher" is George Whitefield. Mr. Ryle's delineations of these eminent men are spirited and discriminating; and a practical aim is, as usual in his writings, everywhere predominant.

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(37.) "*The Escaped Nun*" (New-York: Dewitt & Davenport, 1855; 12mo., pp. 344) is a fair specimen of a very worthless class of books.

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(38.) "*New Church Miscellanies; or, Essays Ecclesiastical, Doctrinal, and Ethical*," by GEORGE BUSH," (New-York: W. M'George, 1855; 12mo., pp. 372.) Dr. Bush's style is always clear, straightforward, and vigorous; and these essays, republished from the "*New Church Repository*," are in his very best manner. There are few of the papers that have interest except for Swedenborgians; but there is one on "*Slavery and Abolition*," abounding in practical wisdom and charity.

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(39.) WE briefly noticed in our last number the Essay on Theism, by Mr. Tulloch, which received the second prize in the Burnet competition at Aberdeen. We have now received the first prize essay, "*Christian Theism; the Testimony of Reason and Revelation to the Existence and Character of the Supreme Being*," by ROBERT ARNOLD THOMPSON, M. A." (New-York: Harper & Brothers,

1855; 12mo., pp. 477.) Mr. Thompson seems to have got the Burnet prize almost by accident, as he had begun his preparations for the volume before he heard of the proposed competition. He had hardly a sufficient stock of learning for so great a task; indeed, he states in his preface that even the works of Sir William Hamilton were unknown to him till he had begun to write; and that his acquaintance with Leibnitz, Descartes, and Malebranche was at that time limited to second-hand information. As a writer, he lacks the freedom and skill which nothing but long practice can impart; but, with all these drawbacks, he has made a book of great value. He is a clear and profound thinker; he sees what is needed as a book for the times; and, instead of simply reproducing old lines of argument, he sets himself to find the limits to which, from the nature of the human mind, the argument of Theism must necessarily be confined, and then he states it with great directness and force. Book I treats, therefore, of the first principles of knowledge, and of their misapplication in systems of Atheism and Pantheism; Book II exhibits the direct evidences of Natural Theism; Book III sets forth the manifestation of the Divine character in nature; and Book IV of the revelation of the Divine character in Scripture. There is also a valuable appendix on the doctrine of causality. The work should be found in every theological library.

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(40.) ANOTHER book in the same department of science is, "*God Revealed in the Process of Creation, and by the Manifestation of Jesus Christ*," by JAMES B. WALKER." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln.) The former work of this author, "*The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*," has gained a world-wide celebrity; nor will his reputation be diminished by the present essay. It embodies a thorough exposure of the fallacies of "*The Vestiges of Creation*," and of the whole system of thought on which that somewhat famous book proceeds. We regret that we have not space for a complete analysis of the work.

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(41.) THE Rev. Parsons Cooke, of Lynn, has written a book vilifying Methodism in unsparing language. We have received a justly severe review of this tirade, under the name of "*A Defence of Methodism*," by the Rev. DANIEL WISE." (Boston: J. P. Magee; 12mo., pp. 84.) Mr. Wise shows most thoroughly that Mr. Cooke's "*Estimate of Methodism*" is pragmatism, fallacious, and false." A Congregational minister in New-England, in the year of grace 1855, might find better business, one would think, than abusing his fellow-Christians.

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(42.) HARPER'S "Story Books" continue to appear promptly, and abundantly maintain their reputation. No. XII is "*The Studio*;" or, illustrations of the theory and practice of drawing, for the use "of young artists at home."

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(43.) "*Conversation, its Faults and its Graces*," compiled by ANDREW P. PEABODY," (Boston: 18mo., pp. 130,) is a very useful little book, pointing out the true ends of conversation, and exposing a number of current improprieties in writing and speaking.

(44.) MESSRS. CARLTON & PHILLIPS have just issued their new and magnificent edition of "*The Holy Bible*," (royal 4to.) which, in point of the neatness of the typography, and the excellence of the binding, will bear comparison with any edition of the sacred word yet issued in America. Indeed, the Turkey morocco and velvet copies rival, in solidity of execution and exquisite finish, the finest English Bibles.

(45.) FEW story-books for children come under our notice that are not disfigured by provincialisms and inaccuracies of expression—a fault more hurtful to young readers by far than to older ones. It is a great satisfaction, then, to fall on such a book as "*Harry Budd*," (New-York: Carlton & Phillips; square 12mo.) which is not only a captivating story, with an excellent religious tone throughout, but a specimen of pure and chaste English writing. Our agents have chanced upon a rich mine if they can induce the writer of this book to write more.

(46.) "*Hill-Side Flowers*" (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1856; 12mo., pp. 240) is a volume of poetical selections, made with rare taste and judgment. It does not include the standard "specimens of the best poets," of which such collections are commonly made up; but, to use Bishop Simpson's language in the beautiful Introduction which he has furnished to the volume, "it seeks rather to present in a permanent form, either original contributions, or selections from the graceful poetry that so often adorns the periodical literature of the day." The profits of the work are devoted to a new church just built on the Hudson. With this additional merit added to its intrinsic ones, we cordially recommend "*Hill-Side Flowers*" as a gift-book of the best and purest class.

(47.) Of the following we regret that we can give only the titles:—

"Holding forth the Word of Life;" a Discourse before the American Baptist Publication Society at Chicago. May, 1855. By Rollin H. Neale, D.D.

Annual Register of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1855.

The Relation of Science to the Useful Arts; a Lecture delivered to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. By Daniel Treadwell.

Our Country's Mission in History; an Address before the Philomathean Society of Pennsylvania College, September 19, 1855.

A Description of five new Meteoric Irons; with some Theoretical Considerations on the Origin of Meteorites. By J. L. Leavitt, M. D.

The Regard due to the Virgin Mary, with an Examination of the New Roman Dogma. By the Rev. Mason Gallagher, Rector of the Church of the Evangelists, Oswego, N. Y.

The Revolt of Tartarus; a Poem. Montreal, 1855. Pp. 81.

Homer; an Address delivered before the Belles Lettres and Philological Societies of Dickinson College. By the Rev. D. D. Whedon, D. D.

Slavery Indispensable to the Civilisation of Africa. Baltimore: J. D. Toy.

The True and the False in the Prevalent Theories of the Divine Dispensations; a Discourse delivered in the Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C. By the Rev. M. D. Conway.

Report of the Board of Trustees of Oneida Conference Seminary, 1855.

Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered before the Graduating Class of the Wesleyan University, by the Rev. C. K. True, D. D.

The Testimony of Jesus. Part I. Philadelphia: E. Jones.

The Young Communicant's Catechism. By the Rev. J. Willison. New-York: Carters, 1855. Pp. 48.

General Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Rutgers College, from 1770 to 1855.

Letters on College Government, and the Evils inseparable from the American College System in its present form: originally addressed to the Hon. A. B. Meek, one of the Editors of the Mobile Register. By Frederick A. P. Barnard, M. A.

The Old and the New. A Sermon containing the History of the First Unitarian Church in Washington City. By Moncure D. Conway.

A Sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, May 16th, 1855. By the Rev. Samuel Bowman, D. D.

Christ's Kingdom on Earth: a Self-Expanding Missionary Society. A Discourse for the Presbyterian Board of Missions; preached in the First Presbyterian Church, N. Y., May 6th, 1855. By the Rev. Stuart Robinson.

Lecture on the Cultivation of the Christian Elements of Republicanism. By Rev. O. H. Tiffany, A. M.

#### ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

(From our German Correspondent.)

HALLE, 1855.

THE quarrel of the Theological Faculty of Göttingen with a number of Lutheran clergymen in the kingdom of Hanover and other parts of Germany is one of the most important recent events in the German Protestant Church. These strictly denominational Lutherans have found that the professors are not quite sound in Lutheran orthodoxy; hence they demand that the faculty be wholly or partially composed of denominationalists of unimpeachable soundness. Among the opponents of the faculty there are some men of great piety and merit. The controversial writings of Rev. Dr. Petri and the superintendent general of Mecklenburg, Dr. Kliefoth, (*Kirchliche Zeitschrift von Kliefoth & Meier*, 1854, No. 1,) especially the latter, are written with remarkable talent, and explain, in a manner at once clear and interesting, the successive steps of their progress from a more liberal stand-point up to a very exclusive Lutheranism. They have many followers in this respect

in Germany. They look at the prevailing theology of Germany as antiquated; *Neander* and his disciples are considered as not more than half-orthodox; and the orthodoxy of Hengstenberg is, at most, estimated at three-quarters. Thus this Göttingen controversy is a new stage in the contest of denominational orthodoxy against the Union and against theological science, which, in this contest, sides with the Union. These Lutherans go back to a stand-point somewhat like that of the *Formula Concordiæ*, and, therefore, do not much differ from the party of *Flacius*, which persecuted and, for a time, suppressed the Melancthonians. In like manner the old Lutheran party of the present day think that they alone are entitled to the name of the Lutheran Church. If you ask them about the Union, they will tell you that the Lutheran Church is the union, being the right mean between Catholicism and the Reformed Church. Do you ask about the Lutheran Church, they tell you, "We, and we alone, are the Lutheran Church;" or, perhaps, *even*,



"We alone are the Church." Nevertheless they vastly disagree among themselves, not a few of their professors and ministers having mingled either modern or Romanizing opinions with old Lutheranism. In particular on the Church, the ministry, and the Sacraments, Puseyistic ideas are rather widely spread among them. They are far from realizing a Church according to their notions. Adhering to the Lutheran tradition more in words than in deed, they permit in themselves the very deviations which they blame in others. There is no little confusion among them on the conception and degree of the liberty to be allowed in theological investigations. Also a remarkable aversion to Spener and Pietism is on the increase among them. They say that Spener was no genuine Lutheran, and that he transplanted reformed elements into the Church: his endeavours to bring about a revival of faith and Christian life in individuals and smaller communities was in their judgment equivalent to a dissolving of the Church into individuals, and to an endangering of the Church ministry. For the same reason they look with some suspicion at the activity of laymen in the Home Mission, the object of which is to renew, by the united exertions of clergy and laymen, a Christian life in the people now pining in misery and infidelity. This conduct of the Lutherans toward Pietism manifests clearly how they would consider Methodism, for there is nothing in the German Church more resembling Methodism than Pietism. Both proceeded from the same want; both aim to lead the people, that had been neglected by pastors contented with a cold orthodoxy, to a living Christianity of inner experience and active love, and similar means have been used for this purpose by both. The faculty of Göttingen has issued, in this Lutheran controversy, first a Memoir to the State Ministry for Education, and then a Declaration ("Erklärung") as a reply to the attacks made on the Memoir. This Declaration is an excellent treatise, and by far superior to anything that has been written in this controversy. It examines the task of theological faculties with reference to literary culture in general, with reference to the symbolic books of their denominations, and with reference to ecclesiastical developments. It is written with a liberal mind, stern piety, theological profundness, and a warm interest in the affairs of the Church. It preserves at the same time a tone of moral dignity and calmness that does not allow itself to

follow the opponents in using sarcastic and mocking language.

We have great pleasure to refer on this occasion to a work of one of our first theologians, Professor Dr. Julius Müller, of Halle, on "*The Evangelical Union, its Essence and Divine Right*." ("Die evangelische Union, ihr Wesen und göttliches Recht, Halle, 1854.") It treats of the Union according to its biblical right, its history in Prussia; tries with great skill to exhibit the *consensus* of the Lutheran and Reformed symbols, retaining their formulas as much as possible unchanged; and accompanies this exposition with profound and important investigations on the particular dogmas of the symbols. We are of opinion that this keen and thorough comparison will considerably promote the understanding of what is common and different in the denominations. The style of the authors shows the animation which springs from a love of the Gospel, not denying itself even to adversaries, and that clearness and elegance which distinguish the former works of the author, especially his celebrated treatise on "The Doctrine of Sin."

"*Handbuch des Methodismus*, von Ludwig S. Jacoby, Prediger der bischöflichen Methodistenkirche. Bremen, 1853." (*Hand-book of Methodism*, by Jacoby.) The author of this work is right in quoting the words of a German Evangelical minister, the rise of that "Methodism is one of the most important events of modern times, and that few events have been more effective in a regeneration of the Evangelical Church." We think that hardly any German theologian of thorough knowledge will deny this, even if he is not favourable to the progress of Methodism. Since it has found its way into Germany the interest for and against it has become more lively, but still the number of those who are well acquainted with its history and peculiarities is limited. The author deserves thanks, therefore, for having given in his work a characteristic of Methodism in a plain, popular, and yet captivating manner. He describes the life of John Wesley, and knows how to fascinate his readers by the recital of his conversion, of his struggles, and successes. He then develops the gradual organization of the community, touches briefly upon the achievements of Fletcher, and proceeds to the "origin of the Methodist Missions" in the activity of Dr. Coke, who for the sake of the Mission crossed the Atlantic eighteen times, and who, even in the 68th year of his life, set out for the

East Indies. The second division of the first part contains the history of Methodism in America. Here German readers take a particular interest in the split caused in the Church by the slavery question. The author increases the vivacity of the narration frequently by introducing the leading persons as speaking. There is many a striking, ingenious, edifying word in these speeches. The second part treats of the *doctrine*; which, mostly, is explained by extracts from the works of Wesley. The vigour, the inner experience and impressive language of this eminent man are admirable; and it is plain that in the principal doctrines, as in justification by faith, there is no deviation of importance from the teachings of the Evangelical Church of Germany. The third part discusses, in the same clear and intelligible way, the Church government of Methodism. The fourth part treats in particular of the peculiar institutions of the Methodist Church, and defends them against objections. Although we must abide by our opinion that some of these institutions, *ex. gr.*, the class-meeting, cannot be introduced in the Evangelical Church of Germany, yet we willingly concede to the warm, calm, and skilful apology of the author that they have been very useful for the Methodist Church, and that something similar is needed in the German Church. I believe also that this is felt universally, and that active ministers know where to find remedies. After what has been said, we think this work a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Methodism, the essence and import of which are made intelligible also to non-theologians.

Before concluding, I would here mention that in 1853 a professor of theology in a German university made a voyage to London, where he stepped into an open church, not knowing that it was a Methodist church. He was shown into an adjoining room, where he found a number of devout people assembled, and an old venerable-looking man was leading the religious exercises. Each one in the society spoke some words from the heart, and at the close all others uttered their assent. The earnestness and cordiality prevailing throughout the assembly, and the piety of the words spoken, edified the stranger to a high degree. After all had spoken, the leader of the assembly called, in a friendly manner, also on the stranger to utter his sentiments in a similar way. He complied with this request willingly, and the

assembly spoke their Amen with visible interest. The stranger, as he told me himself, parted greatly satisfied with those with whom he had so soon become one in the Lord.

"*Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie überhaupt*, von Dr. W. GASS, Professor der Theologie zu Greifswald." 1854. (History of Protestant Dogmatics, by Dr. W. Gass. Berlin, 1854. 8vo.) Among the works published recently on the theology of the 16th or 17th century the one mentioned takes a prominent place. Although dogmatics is now the principal science of theology, yet a history of it was still wanting. In this work it is carried through the most productive period, to the end of the 17th century. The author distinguishes the founding of dogmatics by Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin, and their successors in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. First he gives a general description: the politico-ecclesiastical condition, the progress of the other theological disciplines, and the study of philosophy and its relation to theology, a very interesting and instructive section, the object of which has been but little examined as yet. Then the author shows the character of the theology of that time in the prescriptions given for the regulation of studies; how the inner and practical side is not entirely wanting, but how there is yet too much of drilling and polemics. Then follows a history of the fundamental notions on inspiration, holy writ, authority of symbols, distinction of fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith. After this, the group of Lutheran dogmatic writers: Hutter and Gerhard, Calixt and his adherents; the completion of the system by König, Calov, Quenstedt, and others. Thereupon, the works of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries. This will suffice to set the copiousness of material contained in this work in clear light. The author does not expatiate upon particulars; but it is one of the excellences of the book that he always keeps the general points of view before his eyes. Hence he has well succeeded in giving characteristics, his summaries clearly comprise the result, the order is well-membered, and the reader, notwithstanding the intricacy of the matter, sets himself easily right. The style is plain, but not without dignity; the expressions are choice, and the judgment passed with a thoroughly educated and liberal mind.